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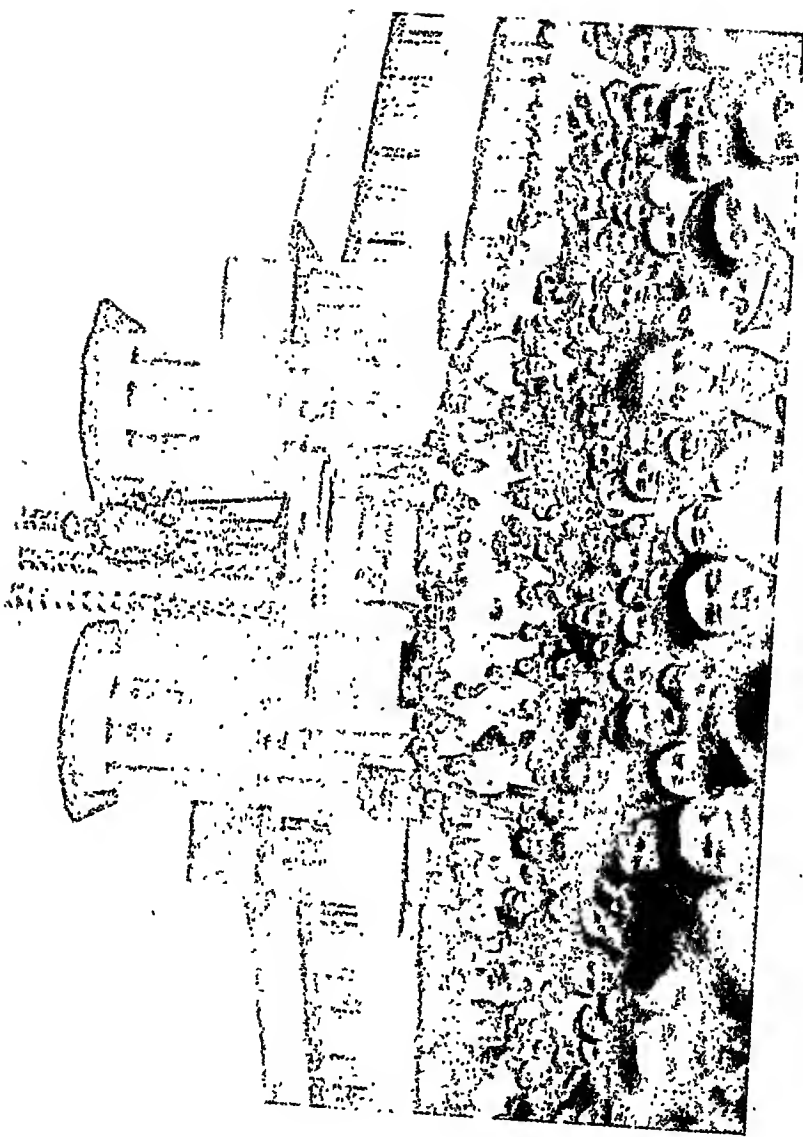
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*Nagpur—Students of the University
whom His Excellency Addressed*

Patriotism in the New Phase

PATRIOTISM MUST BE DEFINED ANEW*

EVEN though I know a little Kannada, I find myself quite frightened out of my little knowledge of it by the sentiments and words with which you have overwhelmed me. Since yesterday I have been thinking of what I should say to you. I have come to the conclusion that words cannot satisfy what I wish to say and, therefore, it is better that I leave unsaid most of the things I would like to have said. But I must find some words to express my gratitude.

All this pomp and ceremony now paid to me are homage paid to previous history, not to me. I know that the hearts of young and old in this country, here as elsewhere, find exhilaration in the thought that one of themselves should be the recipient of honours hitherto paid, uniformly and in full measure, to people from other countries. This gives you pleasure. Let me tell you, it gives me pleasure also in a very objective way which may easily be misunderstood as vanity on my part! But behind all this pomp and all this hospitality which His Highness and you have all conspired to shower on me, without the least reduction in measure from what it had been hitherto to successive Viceroys and Governors-General. I see something which, I am sure, was not there in the old days—affection.

I have, to some extent, been myself responsible for

*Mysore—At the Rangacharlu Memorial Hall, August 19, 1918.

your feeling that I am one of your own. I came here from a neighbouring district when I was young and received my education under the care of your Maharaja and Government. I owe my body to my family but I owe, what is more precious, my mind, to the education that I received here. If I have served the country and if I have deserved all the kind things that you have said in Samskrit and Kannada in such beautiful language, it is due entirely to the education I received in your State. I belong to a village only less than five miles from your border. It was merely an accident that my village was torn off from this State some time before I was born. I belong to the same plateau on which you live and have grown. I am, therefore, one of you and can understand your particular exhilaration at my attaining to a position which Clive, Wellesley, Dalhousie and others occupied. It is wonderful and remarkable how what was once regretted now becomes a cause for increased joy.

We have to deserve this good fortune. The country is free and your own State has now acquired democratic government for itself. I thank the Municipal Commissioners for all the kind words they have showered upon me. It is not for me to say anything about your municipal affairs. The beauty of this city is a great example and inspiration to towns and cities all over India. I may say without hesitation, not as an old citizen of Mysore State but as Governor-General and an objective judge, that Mysore is really the most beautiful city in India. I have been feeling it all the time since I came here. In fact, I did not get good sleep last night because I was feeling I had just come back from a visit to Fairyland!

The State has now been handed over to a democratic machinery. Successive and able administrators under His Highness's predecessors have built this province to an enviable degree of progress and glory. A new government has taken over responsibility. If I were they, I should not sleep happily. My colleagues in the national agitation and struggle must feel a very heavy responsibility.

It is not easy to maintain a State and keep up the level which it has reached through the talent, industry, devotion and patriotism of previous administrators.

You will have to work hard, my dear friends, if you desire that people should not regret the change. It is not enough to be patriotic in the old sense. It is necessary to be patriotic in a new sense. We have to anxiously plan; we have to be straightforward in the execution of our promises and plans. We have to think hard.

Democracy has come when life, individual and national, has become harder than ever before. In one way it may not be very fair to compare the achievements of the older administrators with the work of the new democratic government. People are inclined to think now only about achievements and not difficulties. Yet democracy would be untrue to itself if it did not exert special anxiety to meet the numerous difficulties that face us in the present day and produce results over which people might say: "Well, democracy is not bad after all!" Successive talented administrators were in charge of the affairs of this State to the good luck of the people of the State. They had all the facilities. They had untrammelled power to do what they wished. Now, there are difficulties created by democracy itself. Nothing can be done which does not satisfy the majority and a larger amount of criticism is brought to bear than ever before. In spite of it, I am sure the patriotism of the people and the patriotism of the workers and the new administrators will all combine to save us from any disappointment.

Patriotism must now be newly defined and understood. In the olden days, it was just struggle and agitation. But now it is as hard as building a new house. It requires all the patience of a brick-layer and something more. It requires all the skill of a good engineer and something more. We have, therefore, to work hard. It was easy to take over power from His Highness, but it is difficult to realize the duties and fulfil them.

His Highness has been taking me round. I was overwhelmed by his kindness and courtesy, All the time, I was thinking whether hereditary tradition was not, after all, superior to any amount of training. His Highness is young and I am old. All the time I took the high privilege of feeling that I was father and he the son. It gave me continual joy to be sitting by him as a father by his son when he took me over to Brindavan and back. May the Lord of Brindavan protect him and protect you!

INCIDENTS OF FREEDOM*

I AM very grateful to you for all the trouble that you have taken. Although I knew your affection for me I hardly realized that you would be as exhilarated as you have been and have been wondering what the cause is. Once the country is free and is asked to manage its own affairs there is nothing very remarkable in one of its own citizens being appointed to one of the many offices that have to be filled. But habit is so strong that we still live in wonderment at the incidents of freedom. If, for instance, a boy marries a girl, everybody tells him that he is married. But it is only when the wife begins to cook for him and he finds for the first time somebody helping him in his daily life that he feels exhilarated. He does not realize the full meaning of marriage, when the music sounded and the *mantrams* were uttered. He begins to see it only when somebody begins to slave for him in the house and he finds that life is divided between him and his partner.

For a long time now we have been talking of freedom. But we seem to be surprised when one of us is appointed Governor-General. Who else can be appointed? When

*Bangalore—Reply to the Civic Address by the Bangalore Municipal Commission, Civil Station, August 20, 1948.

the girl was sitting next to the young man during the marriage ceremony, bedecked in all manner of ways so that her face could not be seen, he did not realize what a wife meant. But when the girl comes plainly and sits in the kitchen, then he understands. Later, when troubles start he understands a little more!

Friends, I am not telling you all this to amuse you. You must realize the meaning of freedom. First of all, only some of us will be appointed to honoured posts which previously were much envied. All cannot be appointed either Governor-General or Governor. All cannot be appointed Chief Minister; only some can be appointed Ministers and so on. The meaning of freedom is that one of our own men, who before was a very ordinary man, is made Governor-General. This realization was a bit delayed in our country on account of Lord Mountbatten continuing for sometime. That act of his in agreeing to remain for a few months confused our people's understanding a bit. They did not realize that one of themselves will have to be suffered in the post very soon. Similarly, when one of us or a few of us are appointed Chief Minister and Ministers, it first produces a great deal of exhilaration. All the dear friends and relations of these Ministers feel excited about it. They feel that they have themselves been appointed to these posts. They feel like walking into the room where he sleeps or like watching him through keyholes. They see that after all he is a very ordinary man like themselves. He has been appointed to a big post and yet he continues to be the same as before. All this fills them with wonder. This is the great merit of freedom. We very ordinary people with all our defects and our well-known peculiarities, reach places which formerly had not been reached by our people.

When you open a dictionary, you do not see the meaning of the word that you read. Take the word "affection", for instance. Two or three alternative meanings are given in the dictionary. But none of them

is very clear to your mind until you marry a girl and see what affection is. Then you see that affection is not merely spelt with so many letters, but is something very nice indeed. Similarly, freedom had no meaning for us until one of us is appointed to this post, some one else to another post and friends and relations say: "Oh! yes, this is a free state indeed!"

Friends, trouble begins after some time as I have told you just now. Then you begin to see that everybody cannot be appointed. Why is he Governor-General and not I; why is he Minister and not I? In what way is he better than I? These are things that start the pathological aspect of freedom, if I may say so. Freedom carries with it not only joy but the duty of bearing troublesome and annoying features of it. Although everybody is free, some only can exercise authority and others have to submit to it. When they saw this beautiful pandal decorated, everybody was glad. Some were allowed to go near and some were kept a little behind, some were kept outside altogether. Then they began to feel the annoying aspect of decoration. Everybody cannot enjoy it. Some have to wait; some have to wait till another election. Some will have to wait till a great mistake has been done and everybody gets disgusted. Then they get a vested interest in mistakes and hold on to them and speak about them.

But our old culture remains. We shout Republic, we shout Socialism and all that. Yet we follow the very old established practice of the old days when a feudal king was in authority and men welcomed him with music, flattery and dance. We do the same thing now. How much time, for instance, was taken in reading, again reading and reciting all the poems which had no application to me? We were simply living in the old days and proving to one another that we continue to remain as good as our forefathers, although we have adopted new ways and new manners and new constitutions. We must understand and live in the present times. It is very good to hearten people like me who have a tendency to grow

sad over many things that have happened. But we must realize what we have to do now.

As if to enforce this duty of realizing the realities properly, Mahatmaji died. As if to make us see at once what we might have failed to see for a good long time, he passed to the other world, leaving us to think out things for ourselves. So far as he was able, he tried hard to make people see that there was no difference between religion and daily life, that there was no use in religion if you keep it in *purdah* and not allow it to mix with your daily life. He also tried to show that moral precepts had intrinsic connection with politics and daily life, business, trade and commercial operations. He tried hard to make people see that fear of God, love of God, truthfulness and all the facets of religion had a relevant connection with daily affairs, even in business and statecraft.

If we forget this, we shall have lost all the advantages of a great man having lived among us in recent times. It is only very rarely that men of that type are born and we in our generation had that great advantage of having him live amongst us and not only teach us, but, so to say, suffuse the atmosphere. As soon as his body is burnt if we do the opposite of what he asked us to do, surely God was foolish in having given him to us. Let us deserve the master under whose guidance we have been acting all these years. Let us not distrust one another. Let us not think of one another as enemies. There is nothing like enmity. There is no enmity in fact nor is it necessary to have it in life. Misunderstanding is all that we have. What is the great good in freedom if we do not do something to remove distrust and misunderstanding in the world and to further the progress of the world?

Our freedom is no doubt a charter of independence but it is also a warrant of duty. We must see that our ancient culture is potent enough to make us happy in

the new context. Different races, religions, languages can live together on the sacred soil of Bharat Mata. If we prove that, we shall have added to the stock of experience and knowledge in the world and its progress. Hitherto men had to isolate themselves to have free governments. In our country we can show that different religions, creeds and races can live together and form one nation. That is the great chance we have.

Friends, I shall not detain you longer. Whenever I have a chance I want to tell people what I feel so that I may be of some use. I propose to be really a Governor-General by telling you what I feel about things and make people see what I say, if possible. Unless we work together and forget the doctrine of hatred and retaliation, our freedom will be of no use to us. You may imagine that our charter is firm on its four legs and cannot be shaken by anybody. But unless we pull together, India cannot be strong and unless India is morally strong, it will have no place in the world.

This used to be called the Civil and Military Station once. There is now no distinction between Bangalore City and Bangalore Civil and Military Station. I want the new Government of Mysore to show that they can handle a complex inheritance like this with affection, consideration and care. Do not lose anything that other people have given us. Am I now to take the Evidence Act and tear it to pieces because it was made by Sir James Fitz-Stephen, an Englishman? Am I to tear up the Indian Penal Code and let thieves and criminals go about, because the man who made that Code was Macaulay, an Englishman? Unquestionably, God willed it so. All that has been done here has been done by God. Let us have consideration for everything and make the best use of it. Do not think that advantage is derived by vandalism or intolerance. You must show that the new Government of Mysore can look after an old city like Bangalore and equally well the mixed culture, population and institutions in this part of Bangalore.

You must show your enlightenment and capacity by handling everything delicately and with affection. Have respect for the other man's feelings and then automatically your conduct will adjust itself to the new surroundings. Have consideration for everybody. I am a fanatical prohibitionist. But I do not say that because a fellow is given to drinking alcohol I do not care for him. You should care for him more because you have produced a state of unpleasantness for him. Similarly in the new set-up you have to deal with everybody with great care, delicacy and patriotism. The secret of ability in statesmanship is what Mahatmaji would have told you, genuine affection for the other man. Keep your affection intact and the battle is won. Everything else will look after itself.

DUTIES OF FREEDOM*

It is a symptom of our freedom that everybody wants to be free and it becomes difficult to maintain order. It pains me to see beautiful flower-pots being broken. In the old days lakhs and lakhs of people used to congregate for festivities and there was no incident whatsoever. Our country is large, our population is large, our aspirations are large, but our restraint is yet not large enough.

I am very grateful to all the friends who have organized this beautiful welcome. It is possible to arrange a welcome for Swaraj, but when a small man like me undertakes to receive all that welcome, I prove unequal to the task. The burden of welcome that we all wish to give to Bharat Mata as a whole, I am trying to bear on my single body. How can I represent the whole of Bharat Mata? I stand here and you all try

*Bangalore—Reply to welcome address by the Bangalore City Municipal Council, Lal-Bagh, August 20, 1948.

to see me. It is difficult to see me across all the pillars and the corners of this hall. Why do you want to look at me? Look at Bharat Mata, who is behind you and by your side.

For a long time we failed to see Bharat Mata though she was standing all around us. Gandhiji taught us how to see Bharat Mata, but he has gone away a little too prematurely, before we took the lesson fully. To see Bharat Mata, we must be industrious in our habits, and wise in our activities. If you go to a temple, you will only see stone and not God, if your character is not good. In order that your eyes may see God, your character must be upright. Bharat Mata is not different from God. If we want to see Bharat Mata really, we will have to be upright in our conduct and good in our minds.

We have won freedom all right, but we have not yet learnt how to remain free. It seemed easy to be loyal to British authority but it seems difficult to be loyal to the authority of our own democracy. We have to study hard in order to pay the same respect to the authority and prestige of democracy as we used to pay to a single foreign authority. But I am hopeful, because I see that you treat me with more affection than you ever treated any foreign Governor-General. I had thought that being an Indian, being one of you, having all the defects which you know I have, you would not treat me with the same respect as you treated the Marquesses and Earls who filled this office before me. I am glad not because I am tickled by your flattery but because I hope you will show the same respect to those whom democracy places in authority.

An ordinary merchant who is doing some small retail trade today may be made President of the Indian Union tomorrow. The moment he is in office, you must look upon him as the President of the State and not remember his old occupation. The clay, the earth upon which you are walking, can be made into Sri Ganesh and people

fall prostrate before it. After the worship is over, they throw the clay into the water. We make ministers. You must respect them as you respected the great officers who preceded the ministers. The ministers are Sri Ganesh. If we do not worship Ganesh, our State will crumble to pieces. May Ganesh give us the wisdom to learn how to obey, maintain order and support democracy.

May every institution in India, including the Bangalore Municipality, become better, richer and more glorious in Free India than it was ever before. Everyone who is doing any creative work must feel that he is creating for the sake of Free India now. If you go with some money to the booking office and offer money and want a ticket, the booking clerk must feel "I am now serving Free India and I must attend to this man promptly and quickly." If you buy a ticket and get into the train, you are getting into Free India's train and you ought not to occupy more space than you ought to occupy. If you make any spot of Free India dirty, it is Free India that you make dirty. If you spit on the road, you are spitting on Free India. Free India has allotted space where you can spit and where you can make dirty, and you must not use other places for the purpose. Am I going to see in the latter part of my life that municipalities in Free India are better administered than municipalities in old India? Am I going to have the joy of seeing it? If I see Municipalities brighter than they used to be before, I shall feel that it was right for me to go to prison to make India free. Otherwise, I should feel it was a waste of labour.

There is only one duty before us. Every one should be more honest than he was before the 15th of August last. If there is not more honesty in Free India than there was before, it is no use having become free. If private lives are not clean, public life cannot be clean. If my prayers are heard, God will make us all more happy by making us more honest. I thank the President

and the Commissioners of the Municipality for all the labour they have taken to make me feel great and happy, I am specially grateful to the people who have at last quietly sat down to listen to me. When men can be so easily persuaded to behave well, there is hope for India. We are an ancient people and we have a lot of culture inside us if only we know how to draw it out. There is no country which can be governed more easily than India because no force is necessary. You have only to appeal to their tradition and to their culture. All the great old kings of the past—Janaka and Sri Ram—are still alive and governing our hearts. I am not the Governor-General. Sri Ram is the Governor-General. Treat my office always with respect.

NOT THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT ALONE*

I AM very grateful for the welcome you have given. I had expected a great deal of affection when I came down to the South which I may call, in a way, my own particular place. I find not only that but such a great deal of thoughtful preparation and consideration for a position which by an accident I occupy. It gives me particular satisfaction to see that the fact that a common man, has taken this place has not reduced your consideration for the office. It is easy to get lost in a feeling of equality and not give that consideration to high office which it is necessary to give for maintaining the constitution. It is easy to make a change from the old government to the new. It is easy to replace all old officials, ministers and dignitaries by men of our own choice. But it is difficult to retain the prestige and authority for all these offices and positions so necessary in order that our country

* Trivandrum—Reply to civic address presented by the Mayor of Trivandrum, August 22, 1948.

may not only carry on in a disciplined and orderly way, but achieve greater glory.

The freedom that we have secured, as I never tire of explaining, is only an opportunity, and not an end in itself. It is like day-break calling us to our duties. Unless we perform our duties, freedom by itself may mean nothing. It is hard work. It is even harder to control our feelings and put aside old passions.

I was this morning at the Fertilizer Factory in Alwaye in which the Travancore Government, the Madras Government and others are deeply interested as also the cultivators of the soil who produce our food. I told them that they will have to work hard and not go to sleep. Like the hare in Aesop's story, the Alwaye Factory has gone on and the tortoise which is the Sindri Factory of the Government of India, is far behind. But it is possible that if the management and the workmen at the Alwaye Factory go to sleep as the hare did, then the tortoise will be at the goal. There is of course no competition, as the Sindri Factory and the Alwaye Factory have the same object. Both of them have to reach the goal and it does not matter who reaches earlier. But I repeat the story for its moral.

You have achieved freedom. If you go to sleep over that freedom, not a tortoise but misfortune will overtake you. If under freedom and our own democratic government we fail to achieve things and make people happy, we cannot write about our failures in papers or agitate in the international press. It is, therefore, necessary that we should produce results. Common folk may think that this is the business of government. But we cannot achieve happiness under a democratic government unless we all combine and work hard each in his own sphere. Every home, street, town and city is a part of the same single machinery intended to produce happiness in the country. It is not only ministers who are responsible for producing results. It is the people that are also responsible.

men. Similarly, take any Province. If you forget controversy, light-hearted talk and all that and take up the actual responsibility of choosing A, B, C or D, you will not be able to get a band which, first of all, will be able to work, secondly will have integrity, honesty of purpose and appeal with the general public and last but not least the capacity to work together. Individually, they may each be good and famous but sometimes a working combination may be difficult to make. So, you should not be rash in upsetting governments. It is better to give some time to test them. After all, responsible government is very new in our country. Though it is very old in conception, in actual practice it is very new. It is necessary to get the machinery and the ministry to work together.

We do not know the technique of creating and developing trust. You have to trust people, understand people and create trust in people. We have to use the tools and the machinery available. It cannot be done by new ministers unless you give them some time. Everywhere in India there is this trouble. But everywhere in India I have also found that Ministers learn very quickly, because it is very natural and easy. Everybody learns to do things. Do not be impatient and all will be well.

Let us forget the idea of paying homage to Mahatmaji without doing what he desired us to do. I am not asking you to do the impossible. When doing a thing, ask yourselves, individuals or government, workers or managers, if that was what Gandhiji would have you do. You can surely guess it though his personality is absent and his winsome smile is no longer there. Now that he is gone, act as you know he would have advised you to act. This is not something impracticable. It is something which can be practised every day. If you do that, Mahatmaji will still be a living force.

GIVE GOVERNMENT TIME TO SETTLE DOWN*

I AM extremely glad to be present here at this village gathering. I am glad that I have been able to visit this place which I had visited twelve years ago with considerable interest. Many people have died in the interval. Among the many, one whom we love greatly also died recently. He died leaving you and me as orphans. He died when he wished very much to live. He died leaving hope and faith behind in the mind of the nation. One of his hopes was that institutions like this would continue to work and uplift people. But if we do the opposite of what he wanted us to do, then we shall have joined in killing him.

The man who killed him separated his soul from his body; but if we are untrue to his teachings, we shall have killed his soul itself. There are many people among us who think they are cleverer and wiser than Gandhiji was. We think that he was foolish in trusting people and that we are wise if we distrust people. We think he extended love and affection to people without discrimination and that we are wiser than he was. Just as we love a child, thinking that we are cleverer than the child, we love Gandhiji thinking that we are cleverer than he. We think we are cleverer; only he was a good man! Now, I have come to tell you solemnly that Gandhiji in his doctrine was cleverer than all of us. I may tell you that the great clever man who was Governor-General of India before me, the great Prime Minister who is now in charge of India's affairs whom you all admire and love, and myself, all three of us hereby certify, if I may use the word, that Gandhiji was wiser than all of us.

I tell you that in the present context in our country, in the troubles that we have to face, the advice that Gandhiji gave is the most statesmanlike advice which politicians should follow. Do not, therefore, worship

*Speech at Kangeri Gurukula Ashram, August 19, 1948.

Gandhiji as you worship an idol. Worship him as much as you can but I want you also to know that he was the best statesman among us all. Our politics should be handled according to his desire. He wanted that Hindus and Muslims should love one another, partition or no partition. To think that because there has been a partition the doctrine of love has been suspended, is wrong.

Gandhiji wanted that all men should work hard. This institution is intended to carry out that doctrine. I am very glad that you have all come here and thereby shown to me that you take interest in this institution. I do not believe that you have all come here to see my face. That you have gathered here, I take it, is evidence of some interest that you take in this institution.

You know that India is free and we can manage our own affairs now. We can appoint two Governors-General or five instead of one if we like. We can do what we like with our country. So, one of you has been made Governor-General. A Governor-General is appointed in order that everybody might look upon him as the Head of the State. When you build a temple you can arrange for the music, for the drums, for the *prasadam*s and for all the ceremonies; but you must erect an idol to make the temple complete. A temple requires an idol; a State requires a Head. In some States they appoint a head with much power. In America they appoint a head who has the largest powers in the world. But he is freely attacked and is criticized in newspapers. In England, the head of the State has no powers and nobody attacks him. The Governor-General of India is like the King of England. I have no powers. All the powers that I exercise are exercised strictly on the advice of Ministers. But I am looked upon with respect all the same.

You must look upon His Highness the Maharaja in the same manner. Your devotion to the Maharaja of Mysore is the concrete form in which your patriotism

is to be expressed. Although Mysore has become part of the Union of India and has become a constitutionally governed State, His Highness must be respected by you as before. It is that devotion that will act as a guardian angel for your constitution and for your happiness. If you do not show that devotion, you will be like a village without a temple. I want you to have devotion to His Highness because that will make the Government stable, strong and useful.

I am very glad I came to Mysore and saw that the people of Mysore were as good as they were some years ago when I last saw them. I would urge you not to tell lies. Do not deceive one another. Do not be fond of money, for that will lead you to dangers. Be active and industrious and keep doing something, producing something all the time. Take it from me that the occupation of the Governor-General will be fully performed if I go about just telling people to be honest and to work hard. I do not want any other power except that I should be able to induce people to be honest and to work hard. My best wishes to the little boys here. I am sure whatever we do with them, whether we teach them or do not teach them, God will take care of them. We may change our systems of education from day to day or year to year, but Nature will take care of her children. Nature is much stronger than all our inventions about methods. I have seen cruel teachers and very kind teachers but the children somehow or other have not been murdered by either.

Do not be anxious. Do not think too much about Hyderabad. The Government of India will take care of Hyderabad and you need not worry. Do not look on every alternate man, who is a stranger among you, suspiciously and imagine that he has come from Hyderabad! There are many who think that so many spies have gone out of Hyderabad. If this is true, there must be nobody remaining in Hyderabad! I am Governor-General of India and I tell you: "Do not be afraid

about Hyderabad and do not think about Hyderabad. Think only about Mysore and look after Mysore."

You have now a Government in Mysore over which His Highness the Maharaja presides and which is run by Ministers who have suffered and who have stood staunchly by and fought for democracy. You have entrusted them with that charge. You can trust them. If you want to change governments every Saturday, Mysore will be unhappy. If you bind a book using gum and paper, you should not open it before it dries; otherwise it will go to pieces. You must give time for everything to settle down. In the same manner, the new government will have to be given time to consolidate so long as you trust them. Do not try to experiment with a plant by pulling it up to see if the root has grown properly!

PATRIOTISM MUST UNDERGO A NEW PHASE*

I AM very sorry I have not been as lucky here as I have been in other places in regard to the weather. That in spite of many inconveniences, you have gathered in this cheerful manner, expresses your affection even more clearly than it would have been in a well-decorated *shamiana*. I am very grateful for all the kind things contained in your address. I hope I shall deserve your compliments by showing something achieved while I am in office. All that can possibly be achieved will be done, I have no doubt, by my colleagues in the Government. Whatever may be the apprehensions and the scepticism of the people, this government, which is now in charge, is a government that has got cent per cent earnestness of purpose. Theirs is a record of sacrifice, patriotism and courage which cannot be doubted. Whatever may

*Nagpur—Reception by the citizens of Maharajbagh, August 21, 1948.

be the defects in their achievement, they are entirely due to unavoidable circumstances. Therefore I think you may rest assured that we have in them reliable guardians of the people's welfare. If God extends his grace to us, everything will be all right in spite of seeming difficulties.

To those who thought deeply, it was obvious that freedom in India meant many difficulties. Nobody imagined it would be like a ripe fruit plucked from the tree ready to be enjoyed. All wise people knew there would be considerable difficulties and that solid work would have to be put forth to achieve happiness. The actual difficulties we have had to face have been much larger in magnitude, unexpected and more numerous than we had been prepared for. Even so, our Government has faced up to it much more satisfactorily than statesmen all the world over had hoped.

To the long list of items of importance cited by the Chairman of this Committee, may I add one—it was in Nagpur that the Congress in 1920 set its seal to the constitution, and all that we have done in politics may be traced to the organization then founded. I remember like yesterday the vivid scenes at that meeting 28 years ago. Many have died who had participated in this Congress, not to mention the greatest loss of all that happened on January 30 this year. Where is Shaukat Ali? Where is Mohammed Ali? And where are all the others? I can give you many dear names who were in that Congress and who laid the foundations for the freedom struggle at Nagpur. Many have gone and many have been born—many whose patriotism does not fall below the level of the old veterans but who have not that live intimacy with the history of the movement which some of the older people have.

The younger people naturally believe that patriotism begins with their own consciousness—all boys and girls must feel like that. What they hear about the achieve-

ments and the work and sacrifice of other people is only hearsay. I was speaking to young men yesterday and warned them against being lost in mere exhilaration and I reminded them of the duty before us now. Older people do not need to be told all this. They know how hard achievement in any direction is. Therefore, those who have gathered here, I feel, do not require any words from me on this occasion.

They know how hard the task was. They also know how hard the task is going to be. The two tasks are different. That to be done hereafter is not less difficult than the one that we have finished. One was fought against Britain, another against people's temperament and character. The fight now before us is against our own defects, either of laziness or want of capacity to work together. The defects we have to fight against hereafter are quite as great and tough as those against which our fight has concluded. Being our own defects, public agitation cannot do much service.

Other people's defects may be removed by public agitation either on the platform or in the press. But public agitation about our own defects even if it were possible, will not produce much good. Agitation cannot produce a change in character. When we talk publicly of defects of character in ourselves, we always mean somebody else's defects. When I get up on the platform and say we are wanting in commercial morality, I mean every other man but myself. Everyone who speaks attacks somebody else's defects. It is only when a man begins to think of himself and when men are, by the grace of God, induced to think about themselves, that reformation comes about in the people.

You know how the European nations fought. When war came, there was a change in the character of many of the nations. It came from inside, not by public agitation. Here also we have to come by it through some good fortune. I do not know what will produce it except

the grace of God. I am sure of this, that if we do not improve, we shall continue to be unfortunate. Just like the idle peasant who does not take advantage of the rain and plough the land or does not take advantage of the sun and do the reaping, if we do not take advantage of it in a real sense but try to deceive one another when the sun of freedom is shining, there will be nothing but loss and damage to the nation as a whole.

If we continue like that, no good will come out of it. So also in relation to labour. We think all that we have to do is to get more and more out of the wage-earner. We do not think there is any relation between welfare and production. The wage-earner thinks that he is only a slave driven by the employer. But there is no welfare possible unless there is wealth in the country and there can be no wealth in the country unless we produce. Every man blames everyone else but himself. I count on God's grace. I hope and pray that something may happen by a miracle to change the temperament of our people.

The compelling reason in my plan to stop at Nagpur was to make a pilgrimage to where Gandhiji lived and worked. I have just returned from that visit. I have not been able to collect myself after the shock that I received when I went into that empty room where Gandhiji lived and worked for many years.

I thank you for all your affection, and may your affection be a symptom of your solid determination to stand by the country in every possible way. Let there be no dissension. Nothing can come out of dissension. Let us compete with one another when we are prosperous. But this is not the time for any kind of mutual dissension. Whatever comes our way should be deemed our allotted task and we must do it to the best of our capacity. This is a time when everyone must be in a hurry to scramble for work. Each one must

do some good turn, and the country must be made to feel that we are all working. Let there be no dissension.

Let us forget creeds, castes and such other things. We are a very ancient people. When we were not free and were engaged in the struggle for freedom, we were carrying on so well. We respected one another. We had consideration for one another. We used to work together very well. Things of very heterogeneous character were kept together as if by magic. What a shame it would be now if, when we are free, we do not make an effort and maintain, if not the whole, at least a large part of that mutual consideration and capacity to work together. The very chapter that will record our freedom will record this great failure as a terrible shame.

I cannot appeal to everybody. I have no magic by which I can make a change in the state of affairs. I am a very humble man who can only tell you the truth. Let us be honest and straightforward. We should remember that our duty in this generation is to save India from shame. I do not want to have anything more positive than that. It would be a terrible shame if we do not have order and peace in the country before the next few months. I hope Nagpur and the Central Provinces will play a great part.

I am very grateful to His Excellency and all his officers of the Government for all the beautiful arrangements provided for me. They were very keen to make the honours bestowed on me in no way less important than the honours bestowed on my great predecessors. It has been a great strain on them. I know in existing circumstances and the weather being taken into account, all the officers must have been put to a terrible strain. I do not know whether I shall see you all again before I leave Nagpur. You must take this as my farewell also.



*Nagpur—With the Governor of the
Central Provinces and the Premier,
Pandit Shukla at the Airport*

REQUISITE OF DEMOCRACY IN CHARACTER*

It is a very great pleasure to be amidst a representative body of workers like this. I have had the advantage of having had a full account of your plan from the Honourable Minister for Local Government, my old friend Pandit Misra. It is a great experiment and I wish it all success. It is a great experiment because if it succeeds, it will be wonderfully useful all over India. Until you succeed, it cannot be taken up elsewhere. Because of its wide-reaching importance, people are entitled to wait for the results of your experiment. You have, therefore, a heavy responsibility.

This experiment is truly an experiment in the fundamentals of democracy. The fundamental of devolution is character. If authority is to be transferred to the bottom, it depends entirely on individual character. If the character of the people is bad, then democracy will fail. Where there is no character widespread enough and good enough, a few people will have to take charge by force and govern the country. It will carry on efficiently, but it gives no chance to the people to correct their errors.

In the present scheme, the Government have placed trust in the people, believing that it will be a good experiment in true and fundamental democracy. It is not necessary to make perfect rules. Everything depends upon the patriotism of the common citizen. If you love your own advantages more than you love your country, this scheme will fail. It is only if the people resolve that they should be good citizens, that this experiment will succeed. If it fails, I would not still be sad. To the extent that we have tried, we will have done service to the future.

To transfer power to the people, it is necessary to

*Nagpur—At the Janapada Sabha Bhavan, August 28, 1948.

make arrangements for the improvement of character. Along with this scheme, we must have a scheme for general education. Education is not literacy. A man may find it very difficult to read, but he may be a very good man as your President has proved to be. A man can be a leader of the people and can be a *Rishi* among the people without knowing how to read or write.

There was a man about whom you have very prejudicial accounts, whose name was Haider Ali and who raised Mysore from the lowest depths of misery and bad government to a strong self-governing unit in South India during the difficult days of early British rule. It was a very bad government that he was compelled to take charge of, and he was a terror to the British. He was an illiterate man. If he had to sign his full name, he would put down 'Hai' because he could not proceed further. Even that 'Hai' was written in the reverse way. His Minister was Purniah, and he used to stand by him generally when he signed his documents. He was a very loyal Minister, but he had the humility and the courtesy of the old days. When he saw his great master write 'Hai' so wrongly, he used to look down so that his face might not be seen by his master. But Haider was a clever man. Although by habit he was writing wrongly, he knew he was committing a mistake and he told Purniah one day: 'why do you look there at the paper? Ither hai (touching his head) huan nahi hai?'

Literacy is not education and education is not literacy. In the old days the highest philosophy was inculcated by our leaders through oral instruction and not through books. If you want your Janapad scheme to succeed, you must have a scheme of *Sankirtans and Harikatha Kalakshepams* by which you give character to people by word of mouth and example. I wish I knew your language. Then I could have offered my services if they were wanted. There is no use writing books in a style which we like but which is not understood by the people. We can lock up good ideas in very difficult

words just as a miser locks up his money in the safe. You must write in the popular language and you must speak in the popular language, and you must be good in your conduct, which is the best language of the world.

The officers who move about helping the Janapada scheme will have to sympathize with the difficulties of the common folk. If they find any failure either through want of character or want of knowledge, they will have to be helpful and not critical. If officers are to do this, they must imagine themselves to be missionaries of democracy rather than officers of Government. Although they may have all the authority, they have to have something more—humility and helpfulness in their general conduct. I hope and pray that God will help you to make the scheme successful and make it attractive to other Provinces also. I thank you for the beautiful casket and address you have given, and for the more beautiful thing, namely, your sincere affection.



*Madras—Greeting Ministers of the
Madras Cabinet*

Of Pictures

CHITRA HIMSA*

It gives me much pleasure to have this opportunity to talk to you. Ever since Mahatmaji's death, I and many others like me have been asked to participate in various functions which serve only to remind us of our grief. Most of you seem to think that it is nice to ask men like me to go and unveil pictures of Mahatmaji. But let me tell you that it makes a difficult task more difficult. If a temple has been demolished by a storm or disaster, a visit to the site where the temple stood makes one only sadder. It is only a compelling sense of duty that makes me accept such functions. If you had asked me to come to the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, I would have come, even if you did not ask me to unveil a picture of Mahatma Gandhi. But to unveil a picture of Mahatmaji and to remind myself of all the disaster and calamity that has happened serves no great purpose. We will not forget his face and these pictures do not look like his face. Whatever the skill of the artist may be, whatever his good intentions may be, pictures cannot look like the original. It is unnecessary to remember his appearance. It is necessary to remember his speeches. We remembered Sri Ram and Sri Krishna and others better before the introduction of cinemas. Our devotion and our piety gave us a true personality of Sri Ram and Sri Krishna. Cinemas brought indifferent artists to our mind.

*Bangalore—At the unveiling of the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, August 21, 1948.

Our duty now is to keep Mahatmaji alive. It is in our power either to keep him alive or to kill him. If you hate anybody, you kill Mahatmaji once again. If you do not forgive one who has done you some harm, you put another shot into Mahatmaji's body. A trial is going on in order to decide who killed him. But in our hearts the trial is going on whether we will kill Mahatmaji again or keep him alive.

I have said all this in order that we may realize what our work is. It is not filling the house with pictures of Mahatmaji. It is the filling of your hearts with the teachings of Mahatmaji. If there is any virtue in pictures, if there is any love for the picture you put up on the wall, you torture Mahatmaji again if you behave badly. That is 'chitrahimsa'. If you wish to do any wrong, please do it, but do not ask Mahatmaji to look at it. Please do not put up recklessly his pictures about unless you resolve that you will behave better. I want you not to be sad, but I want you to be good. Mahatmaji died. He does not want you to be sad about it. Mahatmaji was like the salt or sugar which you must put into your food to spice it. It is unnecessary to grieve over the sugar or salt that has disappeared. Supposing the wife who is cooking *sambar*, *rasam* or any article of food begins to weep because the salt has dissolved, would it not look foolish?

We could not have conceived a better death for Mahatmaji. Can any of us hope to die when walking to a prayer with Ram Nam on our lips? Can any of us hope to die healthy and strong without pain or suffering? That was how Mahatmaji died. The moment he died men who disbelieved him all of a sudden began to believe him. All people throughout the world saw Mahatmaji's virtues and his character and his work. There is no need therefore to grieve for Mahatmaji. There is plenty of need for grieving for our fellowmen when they are not doing what he has asked us to do.

As for Kannada, it will grow whether we work for it or not. If we work for it, we will get credit. If you do not work for it, it can still grow. The mother-tongue is a living language and there is no need to look after it. If you interfere with the growth of a plant, you will be doing it some injury but you will be doing nothing else. We bore holes in ears and nose thinking that we make a girl look more beautiful. All our service to our mother-tongue is like that. Until recently all mother-tongues in India grew happily like happy children in the forest. Now you catch hold of them, bore holes in ears and noses and send them to useless schoolmasters and ask them to teach your children. We "weigh" with scale pans to find out the weight of the original tongue and how much of other scripts must be mixed into it like apothecaries. My point is that we must allow our mother-tongue to grow naturally and the less you interfere with it, the better it will be. For God's sake, allow the children to learn the mother-tongue from their mothers. Do not make it compulsory in schools. If you compel anything, you make people dislike it. The mother-tongue is too strong to be killed by any schoolmaster.

How to write in Kannada is a great problem to our people now. The best way to learn to write it is not to think about it but to write. Think about the things that you wish to say and not about the words. A horse does not wait to see which of its four legs is to go first and which next. It looks forward, not down at its feet. If you analyse how a language works, you will see that my analogy is not an amusing or far-fetched one. Let the horse run, it will reach its goal. Keep your ideas clear and the mother-tongue will take care of itself.

Language has its own empire quite different from the empires of Asoka, Aurangzeb, Great Britain or even Rajagopalachari! Do not mix politics with language. Fill Kannada with good literature and the jurisdiction of Kannada literature will overstep all administrative

barriers. The culture and the ideas that you fill Kannada with, will govern the people who speak Kannada wherever they may be. Improve your Kannada literature. Shakespeare had more influence over Germans than he had over the English people because the Germans admired and read Shakespeare. The sum total of my advice to you therefore is "Enrich Kannada, do not speak about it."

LAWS CONSONANT WITH DHARMA*

It gives me very great pleasure to see so many familiar faces in a familiar hall. The Speaker referred to my chair here. I must confess that I do not very much remember this chair. What I remember is the chair in the other hall, the Senate House. It was there I felt the thrill of functioning as Premier. My impression is I did not sit here very much. I was mainly responsible for not having agreed to have another Parliament House built on a grand scale which my late lamented colleague, Mr. Yakub Hasan, was eager to build. Mere considerations of economy made me stubborn and blasted his ambition to build a suitable hall worthy of a free, democratic Madras. Then I said we could convert this dark corner into a chamber large enough for members. When a man in authority says it can be made, all the officials say 'Oh, yes'. In this case also everybody put his heart into the work and made this just enough to hold the enthusiasm of the members of the Assembly. Anyway, it brought the Opposition and the Government very close together. In the other Senate House we were scattered and we felt the distance between the Opposition and the Government. Here we sat pretty closer. Everyone showered his affection on me as if I was

*Madras Legislative Assembly Hall—At the unveiling of Mahatmaji's portrait, August 23, 1948.

their elder brother or father. There was no difficulty in conducting the affairs of the House or the Government.

When I say all this, I am sure my successor, Mr. Ramaswami Reddiar thinks, 'Was it possible at any time that things were so sweet and nice; how is it I don't see them now?' I shall tell him my answer straightway. The world is moving. We cannot remain in the same state; we are moving fast. We cannot help changing. The context is all different now. The work of the Government is different now from what it was before. I confess that I had a very easy task. Not only had I unqualified co-operation from all, including the Opposition, but the work itself was easier. Now the compass of Government work is very much enlarged. Everybody is angry with everybody else. That is the atmosphere we are in.

I have been given the very great privilege of unveiling the portrait which my friend, the Rajah of Chettinad, has presented to the Assembly as a token of his regard for the Assembly and for the principles for which Mahatmaji stood. Pictures we can have. But I must tell you as I told my friends in Bangalore the other day that you do not make it easier for me to forget the grief that is common to all India. You do not enable me to forget my personal grief by asking me to unveil this picture where, whatever the talents of the artist may be, I do not see the man.

It is conventional when you are unveiling a picture to say how it is a very good likeness. It may be a very good likeness in this case also. But I do not have the heart to look at the picture, not to speak of judging it. It may not be considered the right thing to talk like this when one is given the honour and privilege of unveiling a portrait of a great man. But as it is my habit and conviction to speak out exactly what I feel, I told you what I felt.

It pained me to be asked to unveil a portrait of

Mahatma Gandhi. When the Speaker asked me to do this, it pained me also to wrangle with him. I did not wish to tell him 'no' because he would not understand my feelings. He would say I was trying to be humble, or modest. I am not sure whether you all feel like me. Do you find satisfaction in having Mahatma Gandhi's picture painted and kept here? Can you see the man in it? I cannot. I do not see the man because the man is very different from all these pictures. So friends, I do not indulge in the conventional appreciation generally indulged in on such occasions.

It is worthwhile, however, to have a symbol. These pictures are only symbols; they are not likenesses. Mahatma Gandhi asked the people to boycott the Assembly. Later on, he asked people to enter the Assembly. But he did not think it was a contradiction of his previous attitude. When the time came for legislative work to be undertaken, he said they should go into the Legislative Assembly. He did not believe even then that the world would be made happier by legislative assemblies. He himself never thought that he was good enough to be a member of a legislative assembly, although I may tell you from my intimate knowledge and detached observation, he would have been as good a member as any of us, if not better. Let me add, however, that he had no great attraction for that kind of work.

Why then is his picture here? There is appropriateness because you are law-makers. You make laws from time to time. You make laws reading newspapers every day, gauging public opinion, addressing election meetings and asking people what they desire. Earnest men who serve in the Legislature make laws by the sense of right or wrong which they feel in their inner being. Whatever the context, or proposals, they have to go finally through this test in their own minds, "Does this proposal fit in with the pattern of law in the abstract and not merely law with a capital 'L.?' " Law in the abstract is what you have in your mind. Dharma you may call it in our own phraseo-

logy. You must make laws which are consonant with Dharma. Mahatmaji is a symbol which you may keep before your mind whenever you make laws. If you think that this picture will help us to make laws in that manner, it is worthwhile having it here.

At this distance, even forgetting my personal feeling, it is difficult for me with so many garlands on it to be able to judge the picture. I am told by the Speaker that it is very good. But at this distance, the mike in the picture which Mahatmaji is represented to be speaking through seems to be a symbol of the later half of Gandhiji's life when he invariably used the loud-speaker to enable his feeble voice to be heard so that he might communicate his thoughts to all around.

Let me tell you that Mahatmaji, the exponent of the old spinning wheel, the so-called enemy, as some people believed, of time, machine and advancement, was not really an enemy of advancement or machine. He was the enemy of the machine when the machine became the owner and man became its slave. As long as the machine served man, he loved the machine as he loved anything that served man. So Gandhiji did not desire to discard the loud-speaker. Indeed, he used the loud-speaker quite often. I wish he lived to use it a little more until all our work was done. When on January 30, he was about to use the loud-speaker, his life was cut off and he parted company with us.

Let people think that Mahatmaji is not only speaking through the mike to vast audience but putting forward a plea for a continual honest endeavour. He wants people to work. Work is the only thing for which man can justify his existence. He must work and produce and it is only then he has a right to live. He has to work honestly and without caring for personal advantages. He has to work in a detached way. That was his doctrine, the doctrine of the Gita and all the other scriptures of the world. Mahatmaji came in our

time to impress that doctrine on us. To work in a detached way and not to remain idle is, in short, Gandhiji's plea. I hope that the members of the Legislative Assembly will draw that lesson from this picture.

In the old days some of my colleagues used to spin with *takli* in hand, the Speaker looking on severely at them all the time. Of course, a speaker might well say that members were there to debate and not spin yarn. But one thing that we in Free India must remember is that we should not misunderstand one another. We should work hard to overcome prejudice and spread love. That also is Mahatmaji's doctrine. His great desire was that we should understand and work for this country. I can do no better—you can do no better—than to preach this doctrine wherever possible and make it go down to the hearts of the people and not merely remain an empty word without real meaning. Do not misunderstand one another. If you want your villages to be happy and your Province to be happy, get away from the habit of misunderstanding one another and get into the habit of understanding one another. God is in everybody's heart. Everybody will be kind and loving if you will love and be kind.

We do not know the mystery of life or how God works. But I know this that, if you love a man, he returns the love without knowing or without any effort. Try and you will see you succeed, as you all believe that I have succeeded in Bengal. I succeeded, as everybody now claims, because I loved everybody and everybody loved me. If you want to be loved in the world, try hard to overcome prejudice and extend your genuine affection to those around you and make this world happier. If I don't say this on this occasion, I will not be true to the picture. This is all that I have to say and I thank you, Mr. Speaker, for the privilege you gave me to associate myself with this function.

MAHATMAJI LIVES IN YOU ALL*

It gives me great delight to be among you and to see you adorn this ancient hall. You make it look more beautiful. The address said that Mahatmaji is dead but lives in me and the Prime Minister. I wish to correct that statement. He lives not through me or the Prime Minister but in you all. If a pinch of salt is put in water, the whole water becomes saltish. Mahatmaji is the salt and you are the water. If you are determined to be good girls and good mothers and to bring up good children, Mahatmaji, the salt, will be in you all.

Let us not be afraid of death. Mahatmaji has become the salt and we carry the salt with us. Only we should be honest. We must love one another. If we are true to his teachings, Mahatmaji cannot die. He lives in our behaviour. If we are false to his teachings, we will be the murderers, not the man who put a bullet into him.

I hope all the girls in Mysore will remember this and try to walk in the path of Mahatmaji. Do not think of me as Governor-General. You should look upon me as a teacher for whom you should care. If what I have said has impressed itself upon you, my visit as a Governor-General to Mysore will have been useful. When next time I come, I must be able to feel that Mahatmaji's salt has not been thrown away but is in the water-pot.

I thank you very much for the welcome you have given me. I shall never forget this meeting. All of you must support your Maharaja and your government. It is only then that they will be able to serve you and the country.

*Mysore—At the Mysore Women's Association, Jagannmohan Palace, August 19, 1948.

THE TRUE MEMORIAL*

You have done me great honour in asking me to lay the foundation-stone of this institution. It gives me great pleasure that as soon as I stepped on the soil of this city, you asked me to lay this foundation-stone for an institution which is to bear the name of our departed leader.

Names can be given easily. My father and mother gave me a great name, but people hardly think of Sri Krishna when they look at me. By giving names we encourage the hopes of parents. By giving the name of Mahatma Gandhi to this institution, you raise great hopes. But let us not forget the name of the illustrious leader, which we have given to this institution, by too much familiarization. There are many institutions which bear great names but nobody remembers the meaning of those names. We generally associate with an institution only what we see of it and often forget the name which it bears. I have walked over many bridges named after many eminent people but I confess that I hardly remember the persons in whose names the bridges had been erected.

We go our own ways as soon as the ceremony is over. Let us hope, however, that that will not happen in this case. At any rate, I have sounded a note of warning on the occasion of the inauguration of this endeavour. I hope it will find a place in the minds of the people who will have to work for this institution.

It will take some time before you get all the money and all the help required to build this institution. Nothing can be done as speedily as we desire but I hope that when the College is ready and working the boys and girls who go from this institution will remember the name of Mahatma Gandhi and the

*Trivandrum—At the laying of the foundation-stone of the Mahatma Gandhi College, August 22, 1948.

fact that this institution is in memory of his teachings. Let us hope that they will be nearer to Mahatma Gandhi's ideals than the boys and girls who are the product of other Colleges.

It is futile to attempt on our part to memorialize Mahatma Gandhi in the manner we are trying to do by raising an institution here and an institution there. The entire structure of life in India will have to be a memorial for Mahatma Gandhi. The entire Government, the whole of society and its ways of living—these have to be a memorial. A structure here and a structure there cannot serve the purpose. It is impossible to hold Mahatma Gandhi as it is impossible to hold the moving air that is giving life to us. We should realize that the whole life of India, so far as we are concerned, should hold Mahatma Gandhi within its character.

If we live a good life within our family we can be true to Mahatma Gandhi's teachings. If we run a little shop, selling the necessities of life to poor people in a proper way and tidily and usefully serve society, we can live up to Mahatma Gandhi's desire. If we accept office as a scavenger in a municipality, we can be a memorial to Mahatma Gandhi's teachings in that work. Whether we become elementary schoolmasters or ministers or whether we are entrusted with the duties and thorny responsibilities of the Chief Minister himself, we can also serve his ideal. There is no branch of human activity which alone can be considered as being associated with Mahatma Gandhi or his teachings, because he has lived a full life. He has taught in every manner and you will have to remember him in all the things that we do and in all the thoughts that we think and the wishes we entertain in our minds if we wish to be true to him. I hope you will all endeavour to do it.

I have come here on many occasions. I have come here on the occasion when you celebrated the opening of Hindu temples to all classes of Hindus. It was a great

and momentous occasion that marked a revolutionary change in the minds of the Hindus. I have again come here when, after a long struggle, democratic government has been made the basis of the life of the State. This also is revolution.

I am very glad that I have lived long enough to mark such great changes and to think that we have lived in great times like this. We have lived in great times and we have done great things. It is easy to deteriorate. It is easy, as soon as we secure the beginning of a thing, to lose sight of the end. It is easy enough relatively to secure freedom but it is hard to make that freedom fruitful to the people. I hope that in this endeavour the memory of the great teacher and the grace of God will help us.

WORLD WILL COME TO SEVAGRAM*

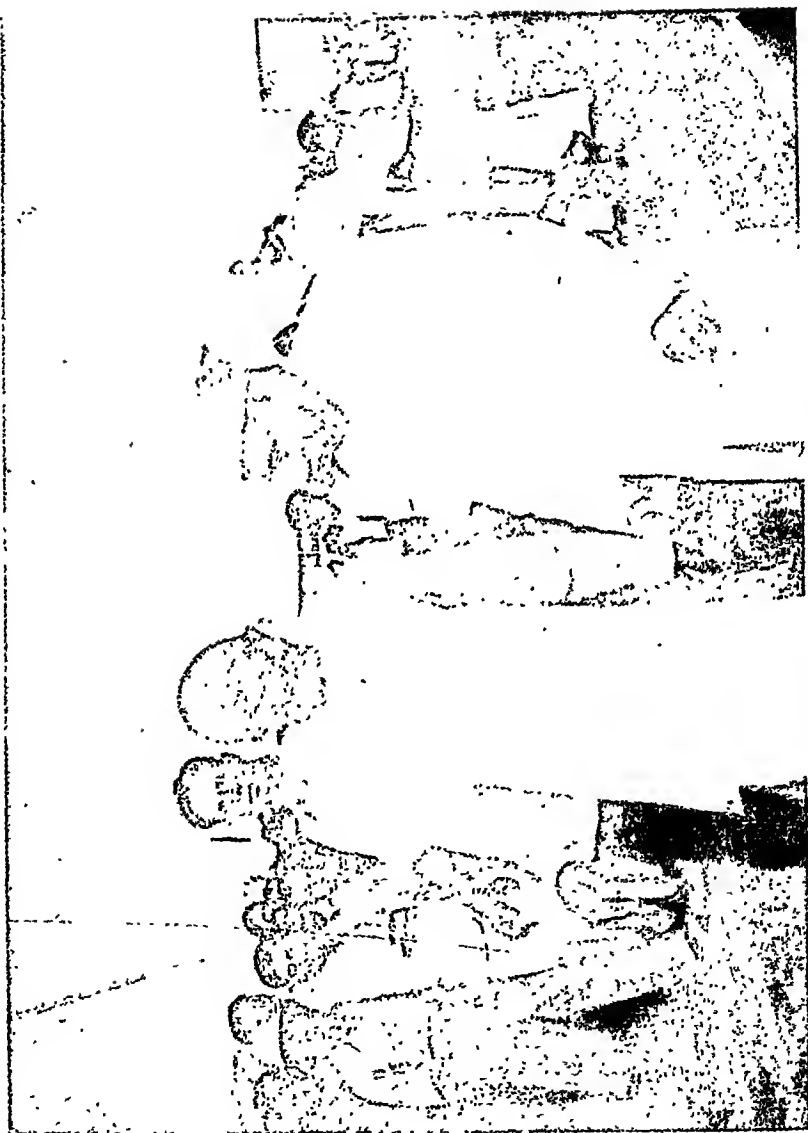
It is usual to say at such a gathering that I feel very glad to be with you. But it is difficult for me to say so today. This is the first time I have come here after Mahatmaji's death. According to older custom, we cannot celebrate a wedding along with a funeral. A similar difficulty presents itself to me. I am very glad to see you all, but I have been overwhelmed by sorrow since my visit to Bapu's cottage this morning. We must try to help one another, whatever may be the difficulties. To those who are young, this place is a place of work. They can forget everything in work and use all their energy to learn and to do. Thereby there is no sorrow for them. But for one like me who is not young, it is difficult to forget. That is why I am unable to carry on with you now. It is a very good thing that one of us, a common man, has been appointed Head of the State. It is not a joy because

*Sevagram—At the meeting of constructive workers, Mahadev Bhavan, August 27, 1948.

I am appointed to it: it is a joy because an ordinary man has been appointed to it. That is why all ordinary men find great exhilaration in the position that I occupy. Here you have to carry on without the source of energy which helped you all these days. Bapu has left behind him many loyal servants who have survived him and who will help you. You are now in the position of orphans, but you have some good trustees to look after you. If you have faith in God, all will go well. I do not think that you need depend on men if you depend on God. It is believed by our people that, when a man dies with desires unsatisfied, his spirit will hover over the place where he was living and working. The spirit will have no peace until the desire is fulfilled. Although Bapu had given up most desires and attachments, he did not give up attachment to the people of this country and the desire that we should all be industrious and good. This desire was an imperfection in his complete detachment, and that imperfection will keep his spirit hovering over your charkha, over your hospital, over your beds, and over everything else. All the ten institutions that are gathered here will have his agitated spirit hovering over them until you satisfy his desire. There is no use praying for peace to his soul unless we fulfil this desire. Whenever we do our work well, we give him a little peace. When we do something wrong, his spirit rolls down the mountain of peace and will have to work up again. If therefore we love Bapu, we must do everything properly. The country will benefit by it and Bapu's soul will get peace by it.

I am very sorry that I am not able to say more. I hope that you will keep this place as pure as it was when Bapu was here. After his death this place has become more sacred to millions in the world. Not only the people of India, but the people of the whole world will look upon this as a place of pilgrimage and they will come. It is not the place where his body was burnt or the place where he was killed that will attract people. It is the place where he worked that will be

the centre of attraction of devoted people throughout the world. Therefore all people will come here and it will be the duty of all people—men, women and children—to keep the place as beautiful as a *tulsi* plant. It is not necessary to build beautiful structures here. The whole place should be kept as it was when Bapu lived, but should be kept pure and beautiful. We should keep the place pure by keeping our conduct and character pure. If we wish to commit any wrong, we must go far away from the place and do it. This is my earnest request to you all and I hope all of you, boys, girls and grown-up people, will remember what I have said. Thank you very much. Give me your best wishes.



*Cochin—His Highness The Maharajah
of Cochin receives His Excellency at
Airport*

Of Princes

PARAMOUNTCY*

It gives me great pleasure to be present here and be able in person to congratulate Your Highness on this auspicious occasion of Your Highness's installation. Cochin is smaller than many other States in area and population, but it has always been counted among the foremost in the quality of its administration and in the intelligence and culture of its people. This has been made possible because of the sagacity and statesmanship of Your Highness's predecessors who, adhering to the time-honoured principles of rulership, have organized the administration of the State on progressive lines, built up its communications, developed its resources and educated its people. Nearly 50 years ago, a Viceroy of India, who was not a bad judge of the various Indian States, paid a tribute to Cochin saying that nowhere had he seen signs of a more intelligent or progressive administration than in Cochin. It was in the fitness of things that your State took the lead in the establishment of responsible government.

With a legal detachment bordering on recklessness, a theory was propounded that history could be reversed and that, with the withdrawal of British power, Indian States comprising a third of the land must revert to a state of unorganized political isolation. The constructive work of a hundred years was undone at one stroke

*Cochin State—At the installation ceremony of H. H. Sri Rama Varma as Maharaja of Cochin, August 21, 1948.

and the gift of freedom was associated with potential chaos as a result of lapse of Central authority over a third of India. Imagine British Railway Engineers propounding a theory that when the British retired from India, the Railway and Telegraph systems should be sabotaged because they had been built by the British. Whether it ran in the name of the Crown or that of the Government, what was part and parcel of the machinery of Central authority in India was no less an asset than the railway or telegraph wires, and could not be rightly dissociated from all that had to be transferred. The doctrine of lapse of paramountcy over Indian States was propounded perhaps by British legal acumen for the laudable purpose of conserving the authority and prestige of Maharajas, in a context wherein the complete withdrawal of British power had not been fully envisaged as a real possibility. But it was persisted in when it was clear it would lead to unadulterated chaos. A great lawyer Viceroy had, a little over twenty years ago, firmly and clearly negatived the possibility of reversing history or of whittling down the Central authority of India on the basis of a fictitious sovereignty which had no relation to reality. But this was forgotten or treated as irrelevant. With the greatest difficulty and the help of God we have done something to sterilize this most reckless theory of lapse of Central authority. The people of India are grateful to the Princes like Your Highness who, by their noble co-operation, made this task possible, and gave a lead in this direction.

The South, including Cochin, has escaped the troubles and travails which other parts of India had to undergo during the past year. Your Highness has the historic privilege of being the first Cochin Maharaja to be installed in Free India. You are in the happy position of being able to concentrate on the welfare of your State with the fullest assistance and co-operation of the elected leaders of your people. I am aware that Cochin is confronted with many problems, but her people are patriotic and intelligent, and if they bring their undoubted gifts and abilities to bear upon the solution of these problems and

co-operate patriotically, I have no doubt that, under Your Highness's guidance, Cochin can be an example and a model to other States. In all the efforts which Your Highness and your Government may make in this direction you may rest assured of the unstinted support and assistance of the Government of India. I wish Your Highness and Your Highness's family all happiness. I thank you and your Government for all your hospitality and the particular and personal pleasure that I have had at being present to participate in this Durbar.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP—NEED OF THE HOUR*

It is not a mere conventional phrase when I say that it gives me very great pleasure to be among you. It is long since I was last in this place. I am glad to say that Mysore has remained and continues to be as beautiful as it ever was. A very large number of places throughout India have grown less beautiful than they had been before; but Mysore City continues to be the most beautiful city in India and, more than that, to be as beautiful as before. I wonder if the democratic government that is now responsible will succeed in keeping Mysore as beautiful. There is no doubt that those who were responsible for Mysore in former days did their work patriotically and zealously. Those who will be hereafter responsible will be torn between a number of conflicting forces and it is possible they may fall below the standard of expertness which their less troubled predecessors could reach. It is very difficult for a man to please people and also do his work. In the old days good men were content to do their work, not minding whether men were pleased with it or not. Now our eyes have to turn both forward and backward.

*Mysore—At the Maharaja's College, August 19, 1948.

Have you ever noticed, young friends, how bullocks that pull carts behave? They keep their eyes back on the driver who has the whip or the stick in his hand; and they keep their eyes on the road also; and they look before them also to what they have to pass. The eyes of the bullock do Ashtavadhanam. The bullock watches the slightest movement of the driver's stick, at the same time watching for any trouble on the road and going forward. Now our future democratic governments will have to emulate the vigilance and the Ashtavadhanam of these bullocks, the drivers being the newspapers and public opinion, who have got sharp goads and sticks in their hands. If the Ministers keep attending only to the driver and his tricks, they will miss their feet on the road. We, two-legged animals, can manage to go straight. The bullocks have four legs and have to keep all four legs going in unison and in perfect co-operation with one another—rather a difficult task. Try to walk on all fours, you will see how uneven your gait becomes.

Now a Cabinet consisting of many Ministers, which is like an animal with many legs, is rather a difficult thing to manage. Do not envy the lot of Ministers. Do not think their task is easy and that they have got a prize. They are just bullocks tied to the cart with a driver behind, with goad and whip in hand. Newspapers are busy and sharp-tongued and they have the road marked by Mahatmaji and other leaders to stick to. They have to make progress and to achieve something in the way of more happiness for the people. I do not think after this description of mine, you will envy the Ministers. Pray all night and all day that you may not become Ministers and that you may remain free-lance journalists if you can. Then you can write anything you like. Ministers will soon be very unhappy. But you can make them happy by co-operating with them. Young students, you have to bear the burden in the coming years. We have lighted the torch and handed it over. You have to carry the torch.

Now tell me if you will go on strike now and then or whether you will continue without break, preparing to be good citizens of the land? Will you take over the question of whether a teacher is to be transferred, to be dismissed or to be promoted, and go on a small hunger-strike, which I know you will not maintain for more than three or four days? You will want somebody or other to send you a telegram: "For God's sake give up your hunger-strike," and then you will stop it. I have come here to tell you that I thoroughly disapprove of all hunger-strikes. I do not want students to go on any form of strike. The responsibility of managing is on the Government, on the department concerned, and on the professors and principals. The business of the students is to train themselves to become citizens without break and without interruption. If the methods followed are wrong, you cannot judge. If the professors are not competent, you cannot judge. The sin is on their heads if they go wrong, but your duty is to go on with your preparation without break. Freedom having come, democracy having come, hereafter the only problem is to become good citizens.

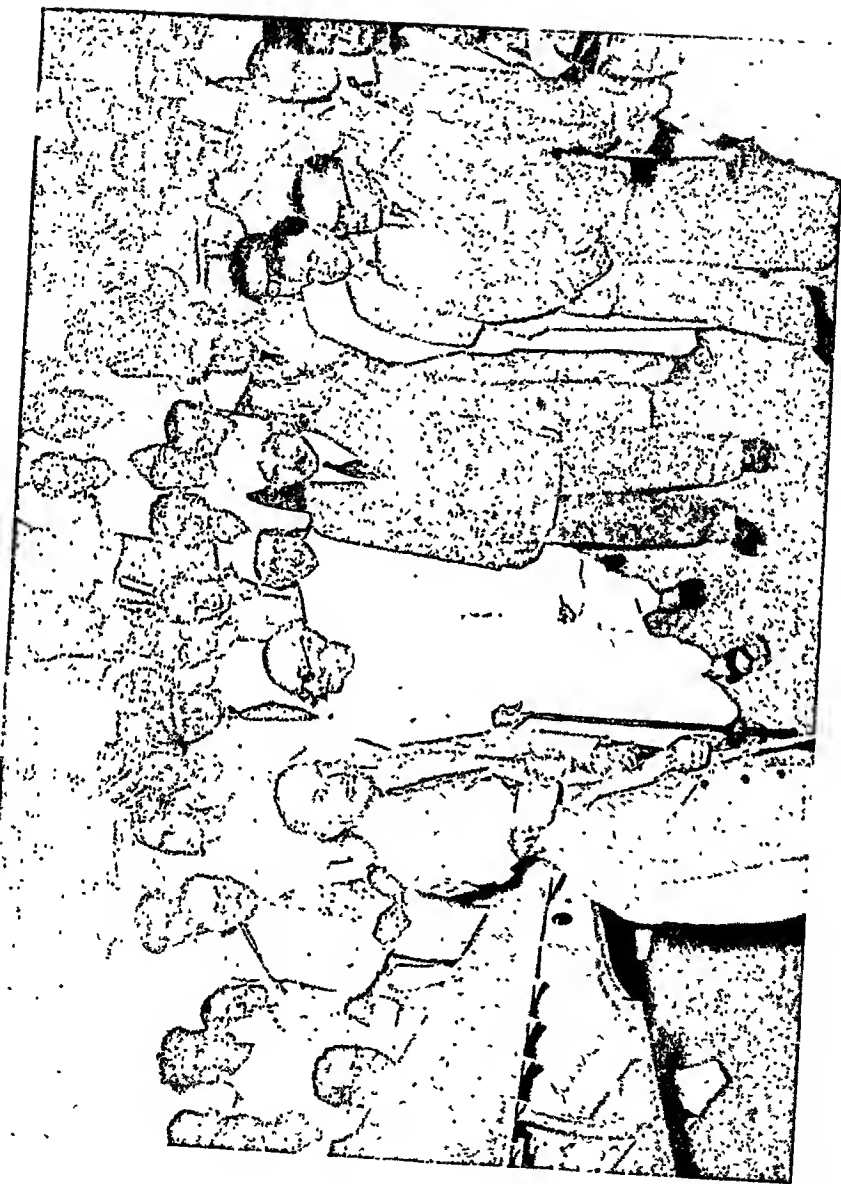
You cannot become good citizens if, during your youth, you begin to think of other people's problems. The citizen in a good state always thinks of his own duties and not what errors other people commit. Mysore has become part of the Indian Union. Do not imagine that thereby the responsibility of the people of Mysore is diminished. It has increased. You have to look after Mysore as well as the rest of India. Patriotism is a mere word unless you realize the full meaning of it. Patriotism hereafter consists in work—honest, co-ordinated work. It does not consist in shouting or singing songs. To realize patriotism, you have His Highness the Maharaja as a symbol. You cannot realize God if you reject the idol which you have always associated with God. The Maharaja symbolizes all the duties which citizens should remember and fulfil towards the State as a whole. The more complex the State becomes, the

more necessary it is to have a symbol of that kind.

Democracy all the world over has set up various symbols. Look at me now. Why am I Governor-General? Constructive patriotism in Free India requires a symbol as Head of the State. You must look upon that symbol, whether it is made of brass, wood, clay or human flesh, with awe, devotion and love. I have claimed this incidentally for me. But my main purpose today was to claim it on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja. I want the students of the Maharaja's College to look upon the Maharaja's College as their mother and to look upon the Maharaja as their father. Let me tell you that if you look to your symbol properly, and genuinely, everything will turn out right. You cannot be loyal to His Highness the Maharaja and commit any offence, secret or public. Loyalty to His Highness, like loyalty to His Majesty the King as far as British citizens go, will protect the citizen in all his duties and in all his efforts on the road of patriotism. He is the symbol of patriotism in Mysore, and freedom having come, our loyalty has to be all the greater. Otherwise freedom will go to pieces. Freedom will dwindle and deteriorate into intrigue if you do not keep your devotion to His Highness at high level.

India is free. Somebody has to be Governor-General. There is nothing very great in somebody becoming Governor-General. I being the first Indian to occupy the place, you feel somewhat like a crowd that watches the mango trick performed by a juggler. From out of Free India, an Indian has come out as Governor-General and you are all exhilarated. I am exhilarated by the feeling that I am able to command so much affection from all of you. Your affection to me is simply a symbol of the complex thing called patriotism. I want all of you students to remember your duties towards the State. But do not pull a long face over it. Do not get melancholy. The task is easy because it is natural. You are the children of the land and the duties are natural duties

and you are bound to perform them if you are straight. There is no difficulty about it. Try to cultivate an outlook of joy towards everything. Do not try to recapitulate in your drama or play or song all the troubles through which we have gone. We cannot live on old tragedy hereafter. We have to live on the prospect of joy and happiness. As an old man, I bless you all. Do not try to be wicked whatever the provocation may be. Thank you very much.



*Bangalore—At the Hindustan Aircraft
Factory*

Of Work

WORK EVEN WHEN YOU QUARREL*

I AM extremely glad to have come here where something useful is being done. I am very glad to have come back to a place where I feel a homely atmosphere. In addition to the pleasure of feeling that I am at home, I also feel that here is a place where man is not lazy. I am very grateful to those who have come here from distant continents to help us to start this work. You should also be similarly grateful to them. We should treat them like guests who have come to help us.

If we are intelligent men, you will see that human enterprise is not going to end with the starting of fertilizers. We require the help of outsiders for a good long time to come, in more than one way. We should cultivate the friendship of the big people of the world. It is only in that way that we will also learn how to become big people in the world.

31...

I am very pleased with the work done here as compared with the work done in the Government of India scheme. I hope, on behalf of the Government of India, that the Government of India will prove to be the tortoise in the race. The hare is now far in advance but if you go to sleep, the tortoise will overtake you. If the instruments here get out of order or if the human beings engaged here get into an angry mood, that would be the sleep of the hare. Then the tortoise will overtake

*Always—At the Fertilizer Factory, August 22, 1948.

you. Therefore, work hard. Be patient and wait for grievances to be remedied and do not stop work when you are quarrelling.

I have taken advantage of the morning to come here and have the pleasure of seeing you. While I am flying to Trivandrum, I shall be thinking of you and remembering this place. I am carrying away with me your address and your beautiful casket as things to remember this occasion with.

JOY IN STUDY OF SCIENCE*

I FELT quite easy on former occasions when I came here. Now I am called a 'visitor' and I do not really know what to tell you as a visitor. If you will kindly forget that fact, I may be able to talk to you more easily. I want you to realize your responsibilities. You are not here simply studying for a career. That may have been so before. Now everyone of you is studying to help Government which is very anxious to get the help of Science through you. I do not think that anywhere in India we have an institute of this character and size.

It was easy to concentrate on getting power transferred from the British. It was easier to fight than to organize. We fought thinking only about fighting. After we had done that, we have constantly found ourselves in very difficult situations. When people develop too much fascination for their leaders, they lose the habit of depending on themselves and rely for everything on the leaders. Those who have taken up the responsibilities of running the country find the position very difficult. I have been saying all this to you to lead up to this: without the help

*Bangalore—At the Indian Institute of Science, August 21, 1948.

of Science our leaders will not be able to do much for the country. That is why the Prime Minister continually and, if I may say so, wistfully looks up to the help of Science so that we could be enabled to do something for the people in spite of all our difficulties. Your studies as a whole are devoted to the service of the country and it must be a joy to you when you succeed in your experiments. I find from your faces that you are more interested in Hyderabad than the Indian Institute! This is a symptom which the psychological laboratory will have to analyse.

There are some who toil to accumulate money till the very end of their lives without enjoying it. Then they die not knowing what will happen to their hard-earned money. They call a solicitor, draw up a will or document in a hurry but it goes all wrong afterwards. The same thing applies to study. It is for you to reason out whether you have studied enough after a certain stage and make up your mind to leave it to others.

It is very amusing for a visitor of the Indian Institute of Science to preach the doctrine of not studying! As long as you find joy in your studies, go on studying, but when you feel inclined to quarrel with your colleagues or find fault with the Director or somebody else, let me as a psychologist tell you that it is no fault of the Director, but it is your joy that is coming to an end and you must find a way out.

A LUCKY STAR*

It has been a matter of great privilege to have been asked today to lay the foundation-stone. I hope that when I next come, I will see the whole building. That

*Nagpur—At the laying of the foundation-stone of the Y.M.C.A. Hostel, August 28, 1948.

depends on how much speed your able Treasurer will gather in collecting money! I am quite confident that all the money that is required will be got from the people who can pay and from the Government who are bound to pay whatever is wanted. I am quite confident that there is no need hereafter to apprehend misunderstanding on account of names and trifles like that. There is nothing in a name. Sometimes the name gives importance to the thing, and sometimes the thing gives a new meaning to the name.

The Y.M.C.A.'s work throughout the world has been so consistently good that it gives a new meaning to the adjective Christian. There is no reason to apprehend that people in India will understand this to be a denominational institution. The work of the Y.M.C.A. is so well-known and has been so well-maintained that no one will misunderstand the meaning of the name or the character of the institution.

The great goodwill movement known by the name of Y.M.C.A. has deep-rooted strength in India, and will continue, I hope, for all time to be an example to other similar movements. Let me on my behalf tell all those who may still have any doubts in regard to this business that the Y.M.C.A. has nothing to do with Christianity as a denomination. It has much to do with Christianity's fundamentals. It is a simple expression of common goodwill extending throughout the world and over all people. I believe that most people understand this.

There is something by way of luck in these matters. Some institutions thrive very well, some other institutions do not thrive. I believe somehow or other a lucky star was shining on the foundation of the Y.M.C.A. and it has gone on from success to success in its philanthropic and mighty endeavour. I congratulate all the local energetic leaders of the Y.M.C.A. who have captured the hearts of the people around and have secured so much money and help and encouragement for building this

new hostel which will add to the convenience of the student world here and earn their gratitude. 35 rooms, let me say, as I am not an American, is a very big thing. If you are going to add 15 more and each room provides two more beds it is a very great addition to the comfort of the student world here. Thank you therefore on behalf of them for all the work that you have done. You have given me a privilege which I have fulfilled with joy in laying the foundation-stone.

By the way, let me tell you that this foundation-stone ceremony was arranged relatively very much more satisfactorily than some other foundation-stones that I have seen. I have dealt with clumsy ropes, I have dealt with wooden sticks tied up so that we cannot untie them at all! Here it was exceedingly well done. It again shows the general tidiness of the work undertaken by good organizers—a trifle but it is a very important symptom as doctors would say!

GOOD BRICKS*

I WISH I had the eloquence which your Vice-Chancellor commanded. I wish I had the courage which your representative sister commanded. I do not believe that when I was so young as that girl I could have faced such a vast gathering of exhilarated, potentially mischievous, material as the one ranged before me. I am amazed at the courage of your sister, my dear boys. Will you dare to think that one of you can come up and talk as she did in spite of all the possible shouts that you can raise? The first thing therefore I should do is to warn boys to be prepared against this competition of the girls. Not only have girls as much brain matter as you have, but they have been displaying in their studies a concentration

*Nagpur—At the Laxminarayan Institute of Technology, August 26, 1948.

which boys have not been displaying. I am not stating merely a theoretical proposition. I have been watching results in various institutions and the curve of success is going in favour of the girls, let me tell you. Mother India wants hard working good boys and good girls, character being the gold out of which everything else is made. If we have no character, I tell you, this freedom that we are all acclaiming will be burnt up like waste paper.

It is only if we have character that freedom will produce happiness for the millions of our country. Character is not merely a copybook ideal. It is the wisest national policy that can be conceived by any statesman. It is only if we have character that all things will work. Otherwise, not only freedom, education and the universities but the whole constitution will be mere waste paper. Therefore, character that has to be formed by the best type. I welcome the growing number of girls in schools and colleges because it means that the schools and colleges are carried bodily into families. We do not need to multiply universities if only our mothers will all be university products. Thereafter, every home is a university. All boys and girls that have to be looked after will be looked after from the earliest stages in the home by a worthy principal, namely the mother of the family. Do you then doubt the evaluation I make that every girl graduate is worth five boy graduates taking the average of a family to be five?

It is only in our country that ten lakhs of people can congregate in a small area round a temple and finish a festival without accident. In other places, gatherings such as this will be possible only with organizations for preservation of order. Our culture is so ancient and so well established that we can ordinarily have the most difficult congregations without any special arrangements for preservation of order. I had feared that there was a deterioration in this matter in our country in recent times and when I saw so vast a crowd in this place, I was a little

doubtful whether you would maintain sufficient silence and discipline to let me complete my task of thanking you for all this affection you have bestowed upon me.

We are in very serious times, because we have got freedom. If we had not got freedom, the task would have been less serious. The task was only to fight, to wrest freedom, enthrone one another and carry on the work. It is easy as we know, but now that we have freedom and the entire burden of the future structure of our country is on our own shoulders, we must be as true in our conduct and thoughts as a brick that supports a building is true.

We can deceive one another but can we deceive dynamics? Can we deceive the laws of nature? If bricks are not true and good and if they are not laid properly, the building will tumble down, whatever may be the engineer's words or promises. In the national structure we are dealing with, deception has no place. Unless we are very strenuous in our conduct and honest in our minds, we cannot make a glorious India. Whatever may be the policies and tactics of statesmanship, whatever may be the science of politics and application of politics, whatever may be the organization of Government, ultimately, if we wish to make India not only free but glorious, as was the hope of those who fought for freedom, we will have to work very hard and you will have to be all thoroughly honest.

Is it difficult to be straightforward? If anybody has any doubts about it, all that we work for would be vanity. Unless we make up our minds that it is easy to be straightforward, easy to bear the troubles that arise out of straightforwardness and overcome them, the glory that our country deserves cannot be built. We are not a small state as some of the states in Europe or anywhere else in the world. We are not a new state with no tradition or culture to look up to. We are a great, big country. Even after partition we are a

great big country and we are a very ancient people with literature and culture which if we could sell to any other nation, they would sell their whole empire to buy. We have to work hard and live up to that. Therefore, friends, take what I say very seriously. It is easy to be straightforward. Difficulties that arise in life can always be overcome. Even if you fail, it will add to your glory. Therefore, let us make up our minds that in no matter shall we swerve from the path of rectitude. In the first few years of Free India, whatever be the work that comes to you, that is your God-sent job and you must work. We must all resolve that during this period, when we are laying the glorious foundation of Free India, there is no time for wrangling or competitive ambitions. It is time for everyone to seize whatever work he can find and do it as well as he can and do it all the twentyfour hours. This is the time when we must do double shift, night and day, and build India quickly.

I am old and I wish to see glorious India before I die. It is only young men and women like you who can guide the nation and guide it in the right direction to work. You are the leaders of India. A country with 400 millions requires many many leaders. Leaders are not only those whose faces appear in the newspapers. He who guides people round him in his village or town or home is also a leader and he should be a leader worthy of future India. Therefore the universities are here. Universities are the hopes of our national leaders. Our Government hope that the universities will produce rapidly, year after year, thousands and thousands of leaders to guide people aright in honesty and work throughout the country. Then all will be well. India will grow, not like a structure, but like a tree. India will grow like a natural organic body if only you are true to yourselves.

BROADCAST TO TAMIL NAD*

WE have lived to see the day when some of our own people have come to occupy positions of great power and have won the esteem and regard of not only our own countrymen but of the people the world over. The people of Tamil Nad share the happiness through the position I happen to occupy. Though this is a matter for rejoicing, there is another that should give us far greater happiness. I must see it in my own life-time. Without allowing differences of caste, creed or religion to breed ill-will amongst us, we must learn to forgive the shortcomings in others, grow to love and stand by each other, and contribute to mutual happiness.

The purpose of life is attainment of divine bliss. Hatred can do no good. In a free country, though high offices have necessarily to be occupied by a few, really they belong to all. In the years of our servitude, our respect for Government was due to fear. With the attainment of freedom, we must continue to respect the Government and support it out of love for it and out of consideration for public good. We must give no quarter to those who disturb the common weal. Without fear or favour, they should be taken out and reformed.

I have spent three happy days in South India, and I am grateful to you all for the happiness you have given me.

*Madras—From A.I.R. Madras (in Tamil), August 25, 1948.

BE STRAIGHTFORWARD*

I AM deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, and to your colleagues for arranging this banquet and inviting so many distinguished citizens to honour me and to mark this visit of mine. I am extremely pleased that you have not expected me to answer any questions. You have very carefully and properly kept out not only controversial issues, but even your anxieties and difficulties in business. You have not referred to what a gathering of your fellow members in commerce generally refer to, namely, present-day difficulties in business, anxieties, and the like. Either you have no anxieties whatsoever which is quite possible—or you very rightly guess that I would not be able to satisfy any of your difficulties here!

Whether you have referred to them or not, let me assure you that the Government is very keen that industry, commerce and trade should grow more and more. The present conditions in the country create a certain amount of uncertainty in people's minds and that uncertainty is at the root of such depressions as exist in commercial circles. I do not think that those people are right who attribute the difficulties to the system of taxation and things of that kind. All the world over, heavy taxation is the rule—not only heavy taxation, but expropriation. Our misfortunes today are due to uncertainty in the state of affairs in the country. If, therefore, we want trade and commerce to improve, we must get security as soon as possible, and for that good understanding is absolutely necessary. To the extent that we all contribute to mutual good understanding, we contribute to trade and commerce.

You have referred in my case, as you have referred in the case of every leader who comes as your guest, to past achievements. We are now concerned with the future. I hope that you will build a happy India as

*Nagpur—At the dinner given by the Chamber of Commerce, August 27, 1948.

soon as possible. Everyone knows that he is not happy today, whatever the reason. We must remove these causes and make India happy as soon as possible. Nobody's interests clash with anybody else's interests today. Everyone of us is highly interested in the progress of India. If only all people realize that, God will help and we will be happy. We must get rid of the notion that because of the partition of the country, any conflict of interests has arisen. The interests of one part are not in conflict with the interests of the other part. Administrative reasons do not create conflicts. We are both interested in one another. This too, I hope, will soon be realized.

You have referred to Hyderabad and Kashmir. Government is dealing with these problems with as much patience as any government can command. We should not imagine that Government is either not aware of the difficulties or has not talent enough to understand them, or has not willingness enough to overcome them. They have everything. But current delicate problems sometimes make it impossible for public communications at every stage of every step taken by Government. Please remain confident in the Government. I am very glad that in your address of welcome you have expressed the fullest confidence in the Government. I am extremely gratified at the tone of the reception address that you have given.

I wish all prosperity to your province. This province, you are right in observing, has a great future before it. There is a tremendous amount of untapped sources in this province which awaits all your co-operation and that of Government. I am sure that soon this part of India will take a very much higher place in the economy of India than it has hitherto done. But industrialized or not, is it not a matter of great gratification to you that you are feeding Madras and such deficit areas of India? You have the proud privilege of claiming that your province has all the most essential requisities. You are a surplus province. I wish many other provinces were in a position to say this. If that could be secured

by not being industrialized. I should welcome a continuation of this non-industrialization! But that is not the case. Non-industrialization does not produce food and surplus food will not go down because of industrialization. You have no doubt a great future for the province, but you will have to wait for good understanding all round and for Government and people to have the time and the energy and the inclination to take up reconstruction.

Thank you all once again. I go away with the best of memories about your province and your welcome and kindness to me.



*Madras—Accompanied by Lady Nye
leaving meeting of the Guild of Service*

Of Language

THE RAILWAY TRAIN*

THIS meeting, this occasion and the purpose for which we have met, all give me very great pleasure. The manner in which we face the work before us will, I hope, be marked by the same earnestness and solemnity which mark the present meeting. We have achieved freedom. The responsibility is very great and varied. The first thing to be done is to keep our feet firm on the ground and not allow our feet follow our eyes looking at the skies and the clouds.

Language is a great difficulty. Our country has, in addition to the normal difficulty of all languages, an additional difficulty of too many languages. But all difficulties finally contribute to making our victory more glorious.

I do not believe that you would admire a garden with only one type of flower. We have in India a variety of languages which makes ultimately for beauty provided we know how to be good gardeners. The section gardener who is in charge of one particular type of plant is likely to become a fanatic, but the supervisor should retain a broad outlook. The cowherd may say only grass is important and trees and flowers may as well be ploughed down for pasture. The goatherd may like leafy

* Bangalore City—At the Inauguration of the Jayanagar extension and the laying of the foundation of the Mysore Riyasat Hindi Prachar Samiti Building, August 20, 1948.

plants instead of grass. The horticulturist may ask for foreign plants. But quite a variety of things are necessary to make the place look beautiful. In India, we have many languages and I hope that all the efforts of Mr. Sampatgiri Rao and my own put together will not diminish efforts made in each particular language. Even though we serve Hindustani with all our hearts we must remember our own mother-tongue also. We must serve Hindustan, but we must not forget our own village. I say this so that Kannada patriots here may understand that I understand their mind also.

At the same time, while we look after the village, we must remember the State as a whole. Otherwise, the village will be carried away by vultures. We should have care and anxiety for our own local language first and foremost. But India as a whole is a very large country and we have to move from one part to another. We have to understand and work among all kinds of people. Our bullock carts cannot go to all parts. We must go by train. In the same way, our local language alone will not do. We must have a good command over Hindustani which is the popular all-India language. If the war had gone on a little longer, most of our people would have learnt Hindustani, having served in the army. Go to any film producer and ask him in what language he gets the best return. The cinema man knows that Hindustani is the language of India.

We in the South have one great advantage over the people of the North. In the North they are still quarelling over the script—Hindi or Urdu. In the South we need have no quarrel. We may write Hindustani in Devanagari or Kannada, if we like. But we should all learn Hindustani. That is the railway train which will take us in the field of language all over India. Compulsion is unpleasant and if anybody does not like Hindustani let him not learn it. But if you have any interest in your children and are concerned about their future, teach them Hindustani. If you are concerned with quarrels and

controversies, don't teach them Hindustani. Patriotism and civic duty may be difficult. But self-interest is easy to understand.

In India we want not only railway trains but also aeroplanes. To give an *inapt* figure of speech, take it from me that English is the airline all over India. To go on the ground in the lower levels all over the country, you must know Hindustani. If you want an immediate and speedy means of communication over higher levels all over India, do not neglect English. If you want to be isolated in your own village, you need not learn Hindustani. But if you wish to serve through India as world citizens hereafter, you will have not only to learn your own language but Hindustani and English also. You do not have to give up English because the English people have gone. When the British people went away, did we pack up the railway engines along with them? You have the railways and the telegraphs going. You keep the courts and the English law going because it helps us. Keep the English language also going. It is more important than railways and telegraphs.

A word to those who work in this field. Those who preach and teach Hindustani should not go about their work in a spirit of arrogance but of caution and wisdom. Our own languages in the South have richer and more beautiful literature, in my opinion, than Hindustani. Take up the cause of Hindustani therefore without wounding the feelings and pride of those who are interested in their own language. Let us use the railway carriages without losing our respect for the bullock cart. As soon as you get out of the railway carriage, you want the bullock cart to help you out. Therefore I warn all people here to be wise and humble. I lay the foundation-stone of Hindi Prachar Samiti with pleasure. It is not merely a Hindi Prachar Samiti; it is a foundation for unity in India.

It is also a great honour to me to inaugurate the new

extension in this city named after His Highness the present Ruler. May his name be an inspiration for us to triumph over problems of poverty. We must fight poverty. We must give poor people homes to live in. May Jayanagar not only be a memorial to His Highness in his name, but also an indication of the success we hope for. It is Victory Nagar and not merely a memorial for an extension. May those who live in this new city be good men and good women.



Madras—At the Aerodrome on Departure

Role of Women

WOMEN ARE BEST PEACE-MAKERS*

I AM grateful to you all for your sincere welcome. With all the good wishes and good will extended to me in your address I am confident I can carry on successfully the great responsibilities entrusted to me. I feel very happy to see such a large gathering of women in Madras. The manner in which you have gathered in such large numbers today shows that you are willing and prepared to take your share in public affairs. Whatever men may say and do, I am sure that women all over the country wholeheartedly support the Government. You have in your address referred to the message I sent to the All India Women's Conference last year. I then said: 'May the women of India try to undo what mischief the men have in recent times done to themselves.' Thinking over those words again, I am pleased that I sent you such a true message. We must all co-operate, specially the women of India, who can do a great deal.

What is the disease from which this country is suffering today? It is mutual distrust. There is no enmity or ill-feeling in this country. There is only mutual suspicion and fear in the minds of people. That should be got rid of. There is not so much distrust among women of various communities. Women are best fitted to remove that distrust. I feel that this distrust is due more to fear

*Madras—At the Indian Women's Association, Rajaji Hall, August 23, 1948. (Speech in Tamil).

and misunderstanding. We must remove that fear. We must not make much of small differences between us. Women may have their own associations, their own meetings and their own activities, but they must all work for one common purpose, namely, the removal of fear and distrust among the communities.

To achieve this purpose, women can arrange to have meetings to which women of all communities might be invited. On festive occasions women can invite the women of other communities. By such gatherings you can promote mutual understanding. South India has earned the admiration of the rest of India by keeping free of communal troubles. Whatever happens, feelings of friendship between Hindus and Muslims must be promoted and maintained. The more women devote their attention to social service the more they will serve the country. God will bless you and guide you in the work that you have set before yourselves.

WIVES OF OFFICIALS*

MY pleasure at being among you is somewhat marred by a feeling that the efforts to relieve human distress arising out of disease are so infinitesimal while the need is so great. I have been given an easy function to perform, namely, to pretend to lay the foundation-stone when all that work has been done by other people. We carry ourselves through life with a series of acts of self-deception like this and we all feel very happy. When I heard Dr. Vasudeva Rao's account of the work, I realized how much of hard toil is necessary before anything can be achieved. Meanwhile, the enemy is also active and the disease is spreading. With great difficulty

*Madras—At the Laying of the Foundation-stone of the Industrial Colony for discharged tuberculosis patients at Tambaram, August 25, 1948.

we are striving to do something. This must go on until our conditions of life are generally improved.

When I was listening to the Surgeon-General's story and to all that Dr. Vasudeva Rao was saying, I was depressed more and more at the thought that men's efforts to struggle against disease seem so utterly disproportionate to the task and may even be described as vain. Of what avail are 25 or even 100 beds, when we consider the number of people who require this help? Not all the efforts of eminent men and women including doctors can cope with the requirements of the case, having regard to the population we have in India. However, we cannot throw up our hands in despair and say: 'We shall do nothing because we have not achieved much.' We must struggle and go on. Even if we do not eradicate tuberculosis from India, let us at least keep alive charity in our hearts.

It is wrong to despair and become, so to say, cruel by choice. It is better that we struggle and keep alive the feeling of brotherhood, charity and sympathy for all those who suffer. I have had a friendly tussle with Lady Nye over this matter. I was trying to put before her the case of nature and I was trying to show to her that we must spend more money on healthy people than on the sick. I do not think I need keep it a secret from you that I incurred her wrath. I was trying to tell her what I felt, namely, that our struggle against nature is bound to fail and that if we were wise and cold-blooded, we ought to spend more on the fit than in vain efforts at posing as benefactors of the unfit. I tried to prove the doctrine of cruelty, if I may so call it. But I know I am wrong and I have tried to make my confession in my own way. I hope she will forgive me and see that I am not so hard-hearted as I appear to be.

But the truth must not be hidden from us. Do what we might, we can only stem the tide of nature to a very small extent. It pays in the long run for humanity to

spend more of our energy on serving the best available material, without inflicting cruelty on those who, for no fault of theirs, have suffered.

Look at the amount of work Lady Nye has done in this matter. Wives of officials, small and big, should not imagine that they have only a share in the salary and no share in the obligations of their husbands. The Governor of Madras has come from a distant place. He has no natural obligation to slave for our people. We used to think that it gave them pleasure to serve in our country in high jobs. We have also seen the great phenomenon of how, with very great pleasure, they ceased to hold office. Marvellous examples of detachment have been placed before us in actual life for us to study in the conduct of those high and big British officials who laid down their position of power and authority with the same pleasure as when they took up that power and authority. That is really what is called detachment and what is called *yoga* in Bhagavat Gita. I do not think all the Sanskrit scholars in India who talked the language of *yoga* really practised *yoga* as British officials have done in fact. It is not the transference of power that will ultimately benefit us; but the example of their conduct. If you seize any power, serve as a servant while you have that power and lay down that power when you are asked to do so with the same joy as that which the power gave you when you enjoyed it.

Now our wives are certainly reaping the advantage of their husband's talents and occupations and sharing in full measure the salaries with them. There was no obligation on the part of wives of Governors and Governors-General to do any part of the work. If they had just exercised authority in the household and spent the money earned by their husbands wisely and well, nobody could have complained. But every British high official's wife somehow felt it her duty to work in a manner which supplemented her husband's work and harmonized with the tasks allotted to the position that they enjoyed. Every

one of them has done honorary social service in a manner which extorted our admiration. They have not put less zeal into any of their honorary work than their husbands in their stipendiary work.

We have hitherto regarded the manner in which people went about collecting money for social service as oppressive, complaining that they utilized their official position to collect money. Do not change the practice and begin saying that the wife of a Government official should not do social service but should remain a private individual. I do not think we should be ashamed to change our views in the matter of collecting money freely and spending that money for the good of the people. Is it a good thing or a bad thing? The money is not going to be misappropriated, or used for bad purposes. It is going to be used for causes like the one we have sponsored today. It is not a bad cause. You will have to be very careful and gentlemanly and above all do the work with love in your heart. You do not know the private life of all people. You may imagine a man to be rich, but he may really be poor. You may imagine a man to be well-off, but he may be only hiding his troubles from the public. Do not, therefore, be precipitate in your activities.

Now we have found an extraordinary way of collecting money by catching hold of a talented artiste and compelling her to entertain the public and make people give money for good causes, as if they paid money only to enjoy the music or dancing. I very much admire the skill of this process. It is very nice to deceive a man out of his money in this manner. But I will ask you not to overdo it. If you overdo it, a distaste will be created and the beauty of the music will be lost, because people will all the time be feeling bitter in their minds that they have to pay Rs. 50 for a music performance they could have had for Rs. 10.

Even this business of laying foundation-stones can be overdone. Do not always ask only people occupying high

and adventitious positions to lay the foundation-stone. Now and then, ask a good man who has no authority or high official position to lay it. Such a change will be a blessing for the organization concerned. I do not remember if I was asked to lay a foundation-stone before I became Governor-General. I was quite worthy even before. What I did was not laying the foundation-stone. We seem to lose the meaning of words. I merely put a slab with my name on it explaining what was being done that day. The real foundation-stone was laid by Lady Nye. Why is it her name is not inscribed there? Why should my name alone be there? Her name may be forgotten in Madras but not the name of Rajagopalachari for very good reasons and very bad reasons also. It is more necessary for us to remember Lady Nye's services. She came from abroad and on the whole she has been treated badly by the people who are sending her away. But luckily she will be in Delhi. She will not be let off so easily. I promise we will work together very heartily. She and I have no official position of any importance. She will be the wife of the United Kingdom Commissioner and I will be only a Governor-General. I will have to sign everything that has been decided upon, good or bad. It is called advice.

This colony cannot be self-supporting unless the people purchased articles made by the inmates. Any article produced in an industrial institute was bound to cost more than a similar article produced elsewhere. Therefore the product should be regarded as an emblem of human charity and fellowship. An article produced there should not compete with the free market by being priced the same as a similar article produced elsewhere. It should be priced higher and the name of the institution that produced it should make people buy it by paying more. In that manner this institution could be made self-supporting.

GIRLS' EDUCATION IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF*

It gives me great pleasure to hear so many sweet things about me over and over again. A man may be drowned in syrup as much as in salt water. It is really somewhat embarrassing to be appreciated so plentifully, especially in one's own place where I know everybody. But it is not necessary to analyse either my gifts or my performance to share this large joy with one another. Let us forget all about myself. Let us even forget politics, for the time being, with which unfortunately Mahatmaji was so much entangled because it blurs our vision to some extent, in appreciating his work and in estimating our loss. He died when there was so much to be done after attaining freedom for which indeed he was specially required. Just what we are deficient in, he had. He would have put it in very simple and plain language. Now we must be content with pictures, more or less well done. If intentions were the measure, all pictures are good. But if the net result in our mind is the measure, nothing can satisfy us. We want the man again, but he cannot be got again.

There is so much eagerness for education now amongst womenfolk that, I think, even if we had ten more Ethirajs, the needs of women's education would still be unsatisfied. I do not think that boys are half so studious as girls. There is a certain extraordinary amount of concentration which the girls give to what they have taken up. Perhaps girls have a natural advantage over boys, because the Goddess of Learning is a woman. Our people who framed our legends and mythology knew these things very well. They knew that learning is best looked after by womenfolk. The mother looks after the family and brings up, so to say, the seed. Men are busy with what has been produced but the mother must conserve the good seed in good condition. The family therefore

* Madras—At the unveiling of Mahatmaji's portrait at Ethiraj College for women, August 24, 1948.

which has to preserve, carry and transfer culture to the next generation, is looked after by the mother and the mother is looked upon as Saraswati.

Mr. Ethiraj, I congratulate you on the excellent use you found for the money you have earned. There are many tanks the waters of which are used for irrigating green fields below, but your tank will irrigate the seed bed, so to say, of culture in our country. You have done very well with your money. It is a pity you did not make more money. I give my best wishes to the College which you have founded. May it withstand all storms that may come and may it become stronger by the stress of the storms and grow.

Do not quarrel about the method of education. All work will stop when we launch a controversy. Nature is so strong that whatever may be the method, nature will look after herself and girls will grow all right, whether you teach through English, Tamil or even Egyptian. Minds will grow and nature will not be defeated by any error on the part of mankind. Do not, therefore, spend time in controversies. Carry on with your work in the College. Let girls remember that knowledge is not an end itself. As soon as they get the requisite satisfactory minimum of knowledge, they must marry and look after their families.

LOOK FOR SUCCESS NOT IN CODES BUT SERVICE*

I AM glad that so many sisters have gathered to give me welcome and to assure me that the women of India are alert and anxious to add to the labours of their brothers to make India glorious. In Nagpur, as in other parts of

* Nagpur—At the Joint Women's Meeting at the Convocation Hall, August 27, 1948.

Maharashtra, I see women are as patriotic, courageous and keen about their country as the men. The first place that the sisters of Maharashtra take in modern Indian progress will, I hope, be kept up. Advancement goes up in geometric progression. Your own progress makes other people progress fast. The educated girl in Maharashtra has courage and self-possession which educated girls of other provinces do not yet possess. Complete absence of self-consciousness is a great virtue and is very necessary for public work. Develop this temperament as an unconscious automatic habit from early life.

I am very grateful for all that you have said. There are so many issues raised in the written address and so many issues indicated in the spoken address. These things are true and proper subjects for my Government and our Legislative Assembly, not for the Governor-General. You can place your demands before my Government, and they will attend to them. I want you all, irrespective of creed or community, to help to establish good will among the communities in India. Men have quarrelled and have ruined the country. Women alone can save the country by undoing all the wrongs that have been done by men during the last few months. You have no hatred towards one another. If among you, you create a feeling of sisterhood, men will automatically become friends. To whatever class or community you may belong, keep your hearts pure and not allow hatred to be lodged there. Keep goodwill afresh. Work actively to create and increase this goodwill in other people's hearts also. Trifling though it be, our daily behaviour has a great effect on cultivating goodwill. Do not neglect little acts of courtesy. If all of you will exert for a few months to re-establish goodwill in India, everything else will follow. This is your particular work.

Nothing will come right in the evolution of the world unless you work hard in positive service to the State. Let all women restore goodwill in India by determined work.

Equality of rights will come to you like a ripe fruit without your asking for it. Women have served India during the last few years nobly and that is why they have now risen to the extent that they have. Have not women risen to a level higher than they were, say, in 1920? How did they attain this? During these 25 years, women have served and suffered alongside of men, and put in hard work in equal measure with men. So they have automatically risen to the level to which they have now risen. During the next few months or years, your work will bring you equality whether men pass their codes or not. I do not object to any measure that you want. You may change all the codes. But our temperament and our national culture will still govern everything. That is the unchangeable law. Therefore, ultimately, what we have to change is not laws but the culture of the country for the better. Men must learn to respect women and not to treat them as born slaves. Man must be taught to have consideration for his wife. With all due respect to the legislators—and I have been one of them—these things are not changed by laws but by culture and education, and we must attend to that. That is why I ask you to be teachers. Nothing else will save womanhood except having women teachers everywhere. Fight as strongly as you can that women should become teachers of boys also. There is no reason why you should not monopolize that work, because the mother is the most fitted to teach. I do not believe in the notion that in boys' schools, men must be the teachers and in girls' schools women. Women should be teachers in all schools—boys' as well as girls'. Then culture will change rapidly and education will progress and all rights will come.

Thank you very much for the very beautiful reception you have given me. Maharashtra, it is well-known throughout India, has been taking first place in women's progress. Keep that going.

GOVERNMENT WELCOME SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS*

I AM extremely glad to feel that I am again in my own home-town and among friends who will excuse faults, exaggerate virtues and altogether be very friendly. Mrs. Cheriyan told you to prepare yourselves to hear words of wisdom from me. I am afraid I may disappoint you a great deal. I am not yet ready with any wisdom particularly applicable to Madras! I have been moving from place to place so quickly that I can only talk generalities and not much wisdom.

We have had a great change in Government. We have raised very high expectations. We have not stinted to say that we are very good and able people. We did not mean to tell lies. But no one can guess what difficulties will come until they actually arise. With all the help of science, weather prognosticators do not always accurately tell us what is going to happen. It is much more difficult to guess what is going to happen in the affairs of men before they actually happen. There is no body of people in the world more eager to make the people happy than the Government now in charge of India. Whatever discontented people or detractors may say, I can place my hand on my heart and vouch for this.

Our Government has been worried beyond measure by a number of problems. Even the most dear things, dear to their hearts, have had to be put aside for the time being. That gives a handle to a number of drawing-room politicians who say, "Look at this; it is thoroughly disappointing; we want this thing to be done in this way, but it is done that way." I wish we could play with the fortunes of our people and ask these drawing-room politicians to take over charge for a week. We would then have to call in mental doctors to look at them. Ordinary people will go mad under the stress which our

*Madras—At the meeting of the Guild of Service at Museum Theatre, August 23, 1948.

Government has been through. It is only God's grace and the good luck of our people that has saved these men from going mad.

Now the point is how can we help such people who are so earnest and so eager to make our people happy, instead of just passing judgment on them. It will take some time before alternative governments can be thought of. I tell you with all the earnestness I can command that it will take some time for things to stabilize and for wisdom to say: "Well, let us try another government." It is not mere talent that can command the country. There may be some very talented people outside the Government. It is not mere good intentions that can achieve things. There may be very many people outside with very good intentions if not talent. But what is required over and above all is influence over the people, and command over the people's affection in the largest measure. You cannot get any body of people who can command the affection of the people to the same extent as the present Government. We must therefore help this Government in the best way we can in order to make the people of India happy.

I hope no one is under the impression that I have suddenly come here at half-past three and taken up the Madras Government as the object of my talk this afternoon. I am referring to the Government of India as a whole, and the Government of India includes in a general way all the provincial governments in India as well. The authority that has now charge of our country cannot be put aside and an alternate government formed. The present Government must be helped if we are really good people and wish to help the people.

That takes me to the present meeting. That which can be done by law, administrative orders or force, may be left to the Government. But a family requires not only a father but also a mother. Just as a family is guided by the authority of the father and by that indescribable

force called the mother's affection, which also is necessary for the happiness of the family, in a State, without trying to make the analogy too perfect, all the social service organizations conducted by well-intentioned men and women, specially women, are in the position of a mother. The poor people in the country, the oppressed people and those who are at a disadvantage, all these people require not only laws and regulations, and monetary help, but a mother's affection in the first place to soothe and secondly to relieve distress. These things cannot be done by government organizations. Even if all the social organizations are clubbed together into an official federation and an expert honorary non-stipendiary officer is appointed to look after it, the ways of government do not suit the problem. It wants something other than mere order and regulations. It demands affection, and for that reason, every government in the world, including that most perfect of all governments in regard to social affairs, namely, the Soviet Republic which depends so much upon official organizations, depends upon non-official voluntary service of a kind such as the one under whose auspices I have the privilege of speaking today. There may be Government help. The Governor's wife may be the moving spirit in it. There may be grants, there may be inspection and all that, but the moving force must be the urge in the human mind to help people in distress, the urge that I began calling a mother's affection.

No one is more aware than I of the fact that it is not possible to help everybody in distress through voluntary social service. We just touch the fringe of the matter. As our Indian proverb says, it is a drop of asafœtida in the ocean! Still asafœtida is required in our preparations though we put very little of it. I do not, therefore, want you to make light of voluntary effort. It is true that the secretary of a voluntary organization may be dressed in beautiful clothes. It does not mean that her heart is not equally dressed in pity or sympathy. I am also aware of the general criticism that is made of fashionable women

who come to help poor people. It may happen that a Collector's wife may be very charitable while a poor man's wife is not. Poverty does not necessarily make people charitable. I do not blame poor people. But is it not right that we should encourage sympathy and charity to become the fashion along with dress and other things. Let us make it fashionable really. There is no necessary connection between ragged clothes and fondness for social service. The moral is only this. Let us not light-heartedly pass comments and discourage people from doing social service. Everyone is entitled to find expression for the urge of affection which God has placed in every human being—sometimes it may be suppressed, sometimes it may find free expression. All these organizations therefore require the encouragement of newspaper men, public men, Government and the people who pass comments on others without doing anything themselves. All these things are necessary and I am very glad that in Free India there will be more and more of these organizations.

Do not think that social service work was a peculiarity of old Government House manners. The new Government House will go on doing the same thing, let me tell you, and every man will hereafter do more in that direction than he ever did before. Our new Government in Free India will want the services of these and even more organizations. They will want them to work harder and they are bound to work harder. Look at this organization. It was doing a lot of work before also. After 15th August it has increased its work, widened its scope and taken in more people. The Diwan Bahadur (referring to Diwan Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar) is not a fashionable young person hovering about Government House. Why has he joined this organization? Because that is the urge of new India now. Almost all people will join this organization. Let all such organizations, whose common aim is to be charitable to people and help them in their difficulties as far as they can, work together. I am here, friends, as the official representative of Free India's

new Government to say that all these social service organizations are most welcome to the Government, and everything that is possible will be done to help them in their work.



*Mysore—Welcome arches along the
Mysore-Bangalore Highway*

University Students

GO UP ITS STEPS AND REACH IT*

You need not think that I am just telling you a polite thing when I say I am very delighted to see boys and professors of the Loyola College behaving as I expected them to behave. You have great standards to maintain. I have a very high opinion about you, and trust you will never fall below that standard. This College is going to produce young people year after year fit to be leaders of the country.

In a free country, colleges produce leaders. There is no antagonism now between education and patriotism. In the old days, the Government was different from the people and education had to serve Government first and only incidentally patriotism as a by-product. Now this is a factory for patriotism pure and simple—not patriotism of a vaporous type, but patriotism, if I may say so, of a solid and substantial pattern. Hereafter, if you get a hundred boys out of the College, eighty of them must be fit for public service whether as legislators or leaders of the people. One of them may even have to be ready to become Governor-General. All our education must be so directed as to produce this result.

Let not boys rack their brains about the method of education that will produce these results. The great author of *Alice in Wonderland* has told us

* Madras—At the unveiling of the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Loyola College, August 24, 1948.

that if a centipede begins to think which foot should go first and which next, it will not proceed at all. You are like the hundred legs of the centipede. Do not think of methods but get all you can possibly get out of the excellent institutions which have been left for us. Many institutions have been left to us by the people who preceded the present Government. The Loyola College is one of them. We must preserve it properly. Do not waste time on changing names. Remember that Loyola is a great name and if only you succeed in producing every year a hundred Loyolas, it will be a remarkable thing for India.

It gives me great pleasure to unveil this fine portrait which will remind you for all time of the man who was held by millions not only in India but all over the world in the deepest regard. Life in these days is very difficult. Such a good man as Gandhiji had actually to die before he could get all men to believe him. Until the moment of his death, although millions of people loved him, a few had not been really convinced by him. They were doubting him but, like a miracle, the moment he died all the people who disbelieved him, with one voice wept for him.

It just proves that people in the modern complex days demand the extreme form of truth—truth that kills the thing which is itself truth. We cannot prove ourselves unless we die. Now that is a thing that makes us sad but let us be proud that here in India, we had one who could prove himself in that supreme manner. It gives me great pleasure that the boys of this College had thought of this portrait of Gandhiji and waited for me to unveil it. You have all presented me for the Gandhi Memorial Fund a purse full of coins. I congratulate you. It is not the money that is important. It is the earnestness, thoughtfulness and exertion behind it that I appreciate.

It makes me happy to see that things are not going from bad to worse, but that things are improving. Let me tell

the Premier of Madras, here is proof for you to be cheerful. Things are improving. What is wanted now is to cheer up and encourage one another. We may have to go through many difficulties for which we have not been prepared. But we will go through them.

The standard of the Madras University is very high. Do not let it go down. The pressure of democracy may be brought to bear on anything in the world but not on the standard of education of the University. Do not compel the University to come down to you; you must go up its steps and reach it.

EDUCATION FOR NEW INDIA*

I AM grateful to His Excellency the Chancellor for giving me this privilege of seeing the glad faces of the newly admitted graduates of the University and of giving them my good wishes. Dear young friends, the life-work of men of my generation has been very nearly completed. The lamp which it has pleased Providence to enable us to light will now come under your care. Protect it against the ill winds that blow against it. I value deeply the opportunity offered to me to say a few words to you today. During this initial period of independent national life, many a trite saying gets real and relevant meaning. So if I say some very ordinary and oft-repeated things, please do not think I just fill up time in a conventional way. I am a practical and serious-minded man though I like a joke as much as anyone else. I love you greatly, and what I say is an earnest appeal to you and others like you.

I can claim His Excellency the Chancellor as a friend over and above the bonds that tied us both in official

* Madras—At the Annual Convocation of the Madras University, August 24, 1948.

tasks. I know that the people and the Government of the Province are sorry that he is leaving Madras. But it is a consolation that he as well as Lady Nye will continue to be in India in a different capacity in which too there will be many opportunities for friendly assistance on their part to those who are engaged in national work, to me and others as well. Sir Archibald Nye as well as Lord Mountbatten have, during the past year when they courageously and chivalrously remained with us after the transference of power, shown a devotion to work in the cause of peace and progress in India which we Indians may well emulate. Your Chancellor will be the last Britisher to be dissociated from the conduct of civil affairs in India. His going marks a period of added responsibility on our part for wise self-governance.

The late American Ambassador's wife, Mrs. Grady, while taking the plane to join her husband some days ago, gave a farewell message, in the course of which she complimented Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me as men who belonged to the world and not only to India. Mrs. Grady was not referring to our knowledge of world affairs for, whatever may be the case with our Prime Minister, I cannot lay claim to any special or even a passable degree of equipment in that field. Mrs. Grady was referring, I take it, to our obligations at the present juncture in the world. Not only the Prime Minister and I, but every enlightened citizen of India must now rise to the full height not only of national citizenship but of world-citizenship. The world is watching India with good will. Our culture, our philosophy and our outlook on life have a new meaning and a new hope for the nations that have suffered and are suffering in the West. Our struggle against British Imperialism is over and, thank God, it has not ended on a note of bitterness but in complete goodwill and mutual understanding. Being citizens of a free country, we should now realize our mission as a nation and our place in world-civilization. We must fulfil the obligations that arise out of our place in Asia and our long and intimate connection with the West. We cannot

escape world-citizenship and the particular Dharma which must appertain to India in that regard. By thinking of the world and of man as a whole, we shall purify and strengthen ourselves even in respect of internal problems and anxieties.

Freedom has assuredly given us a new status and new opportunities. But it also implies that we should discard selfishness, laziness and all narrowness of outlook. Our state of freedom implies toil and new values for old ones. We should so discipline ourselves as to be able to discharge our new responsibilities satisfactorily. If there is any one thing that needs to be stressed more than any other in the new set-up, it is that we should put into action our full capacity, each one of us, in productive effort—each one of us in his own sphere, however humble. Work, unceasing work, should now be our watchword. Work is wealth and service is happiness. Nothing else is. The greatest crime in India today is idleness. If we root out idleness, all our difficulties, including even conflicts, will gradually disappear. Whether as a constable or as a high official of the State, whether as a businessman or industrialist or artisan or farmer or peasant, all of us are discharging our obligation to the State and making a contribution to the welfare of the country. Honest work is the sheet-anchor to which if we cling we shall be saved in spite of every danger or difficulty. Honest work is the fundamental law of progress.

Next to honest work is the habit of respecting other people's feelings. It takes all sorts to make this world and the highest virtue of every citizen is to try to conduct himself so that a mode of life may be evolved by which people of differing religious faiths, occupations and attainments who constitute our society may live together in peace and amity. The law of love is a practical code of life as our dear departed leader so strenuously sought to teach us. My confirmed opinion is that in India there is in fact no communal hatred. Greed and fear of defeat in economic competition produce what is mistaken for

communal ill-feeling. There is abundant and abiding respect for all kinds of creeds, faiths and ways of life, but selfishness and personal ambitions of a poor variety produce conditions often mistaken for communal ill-will. It is not, therefore, a hopeless task to restore and maintain communal amity and goodwill all round.

Unfortunately certain events have led to the atmosphere being full of alarm and expectation of conflict. We do not desire conflict. But we may not be able to avoid it. All the same, we must do our best to prevent what is admittedly bad for everybody concerned and for the nation. In any case to be calm is the best preparation to face any difficulty. Excitement is the contrary of preparedness. I am convinced that there is really no hatred between Hindus and Muslims or between any other communities. There is neither hatred nor conflict of interests. There is misunderstanding, pride and consequent stupidity. The long-drawn-out controversies of the recent past cannot be put aside all at once. Hence all these misunderstandings, this pride and this stupidity. But basically there is, among widely differing creeds and races, far greater understanding of the fundamentals of human fellowship in India than probably anywhere else. This being so, my hope is not ill-founded that India will lead the way in demonstrating harmony in diversity and furnishing a striking example in human co-operation in the midst of seeming heterogeneity. Whatever may be the immediate troubles, I have no doubt that you who have now graduated will, in your life-time, see a happy India without ill-will, strenuously engaged in reconstruction. There is no need to despair, whatever be the colour of things at present.

To manage the affairs of an independent State, trained leadership is necessary. You have had training in that direction in some measure, for University education is nothing but a training for leadership. Numberless citizens are denied this privilege and it, therefore, becomes your sacred duty to regard your good fortune as a pre-

cious debt. In your daily conduct, in whatever walk of life you may be and under all conditions, you should remember your obligation of leadership and set an example to others how to think and speak and how to act. The physical defence of a State is the special responsibility of the members of the Armed Forces. You are the moral and cultural army of India. Her progressive culture and contribution to world-civilization should be your concern. That the youth of today are the citizens of tomorrow is a trite statement. But in a land that has just attained political freedom and whose citizens have to shoulder new responsibilities in every field of national activity, you young graduates should see in that oft-repeated statement a vital and most significant reality that concerns you intimately.

We have gone through a long and intense political struggle which involved great and unprecedented sacrifices. Many of us are engaged now in cashing our cheques on the bank of sacrifice with a feeling of self-righteous anger when delayed at the counter or asked to stand in a queue. All this is natural and it would be wrong to have expected that anything else could happen. Sacrifice had been sustained unbroken through two generations and it would be idle to expect those who suffered to stand down in self-abnegation when the illusions of power and position tempt. Admitting all this, enlightened men and women should ask themselves the question, 'What is patriotism now?'

Graduates, on this great occasion in your life when you must be overflowing with a sense of achievement and a degree of pride, an older person may offer a few words to you on our immediate future. Independence is a goal for which we worked and struggled for several years. But we must now overcome the habit of mental resistance and opposition which was our pattern of behaviour until now. We must forget all the disappointments and frustrations we have suffered. We must turn all our experiences now to positive ends.

The years immediately ahead when our freedom has to be consolidated must be years of strenuous work. We cannot take out of life more than we put into it ourselves. The new opportunities that present themselves in our country may seem to be opportunities for individual advancement but they are also, and perhaps more truly, opportunities for service to the country as a whole.

What is wanted is not competitive ambition but intense co-operation. The furtherance of the welfare of the people as a whole in constructive channels is the warp and woof of patriotism now. Melodramatic reiteration of past struggles and dwelling on episodes of suffering may feed our pride in a way but it is wholly irrelevant and is therefore a waste of energy in the present context when what is wanted is speed of realization of civic duty and energetic positive effort in reconstruction.

A teacher from Kerala wrote to me a few days back suggesting that I should clarify some points in the course of this my address to you. He asked in his letter—(1) Should teachers and students be encouraged to take up active politics apart from academic studies? My answer has always been and I repeat it now, *NO!* Active party politics is inconsistent with fruitful student-life. (2) Should our schools and colleges be scenes of political battles and party squabbles? My answer is an emphatic *NO!* (3) Should strikes and satyagraha be recognized and encouraged in schools? My answer is again in the negative.

This takes me to my intention to share with the experienced educationists assembled here a few thoughts on education. There is a tendency in progressive political circles as well as among educationists to seek to make anything that is good and useful a compulsory part of youth's educational course. I should like to express on this occasion my doubts in respect of this tendency. The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of

time and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial equipment straightway. The pressure of too many subjects is not a good thing for the young brain. On the other hand, it is only when the brain is young that the capacity to think aright can be developed and correct methods of work can be implanted. To give an example, I would point out that history cannot be understood by boys and girls who have not seen or experienced much of life and its problems. The brain is a machine which should be properly assembled and adjusted during youth. Once this is done, it will take care of itself and there is plenty of time for acquiring information in all branches. The stress during youth should be on training, on creating a habit of correct observation, of scientific curiosity, and of thinking aright and not on cramming the brain with information. The aim of education is that the pupil should acquire an automatic appreciation of values, moral and other. We do not desire to produce indoctrinated minds. That is not the democratic ideal. Totalitarians might wish to give a twist when the mind is young in a planned direction but our aim should be to produce a free and faithful intellectual and moral apparatus rather than give pre-planned twists.

Again, it should be remembered that what is made compulsory automatically induces a distaste. If you wish boys and girls to develop a permanent and unreasonable dislike of anything, make that subject a compulsory subject. If you wish that they may develop a willingness and a capacity to appreciate good literature such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, or Shakespeare, or the Bible, for God's sake, I would say to the educationists, do not make the study of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata or of Shakespeare or the Bible compulsory in the school. The lessons of both child psychology and human psychology are that mandatory and compulsory direction produces a contrary and rebellious tendency. The conditions for assimilation should be produced, and there

should be no compulsion. Youth should be helped to choose good things for themselves rather than be forced and drilled.

Therefore I would suggest to educationists that less stress should be laid on examinations and more on opportunities for study and assimilation. The examination is the most bitter part of compulsion. It creates an incurable tendency towards superficiality and a paradoxical condition wherein a certain degree of equipment and dislike go together. It leaves in the successful candidate a distaste for further advance, once the examination is over. If in any field the standard of attainment is better in foreign universities than in India, it is not due to stiffer examinations or to superior talents. It is the result of greater voluntary exertion on the part of teachers and pupils born of love of the thing itself, and better facilities for study and research rather than of any stricter or better system of examinations and rejections. It is the result of a condition of things in which aptitude and love of subject rather than irrelevant ambitions and prospects of career and employment guide the students in their choice of studies.

There are two problems which are the cause of great worry to our educationists, the problem of religious and moral instruction in a land of many faiths and the problem arising out of multiplicity of languages. Taking up the education of children, we see that they should be trained to love one another, to be kindly and helpful to all, to be tender to the lower animals and to observe and think aright. The task of teaching them how to read and write and to count and calculate is important, but it should not make us lose sight of the primary aim of moulding personality in the right way. For this it is necessary to call into aid culture, tradition and religion. But in our country we have to look after, in the same school, boys and girls born in different faiths and who belong to families that live diverse ways of life and follow forms of worship associated with different denominations

of religion. It will not do to follow the easy path of evading the challenge by attending solely to physical culture and intellectual education. We have to evolve a suitable technique and method for serving the spiritual needs of children through many religions in the same school. We would thereby cultivate an atmosphere of mutual respect, a fuller understanding and helpful co-operation among all the different communities in our society. India is not like other smaller countries with a single language and a single faith. We have a multiplicity of languages and faith but are yet one and must remain one people. We have therefore to give basic training in our schools to speak and understand many languages and to understand and respect the different religions prevailing in India. It is not right for us in India to be dissuaded from this on account of considerations as to over-taxing the young mind. What is necessary must be done. And it is not in fact too great a burden.

Any attempt to do away with or steam roll the differences through governmental coercion and indirect pressure would be futile as it would be unwise. Any imposition of a single way of life and form of worship on all children, or neglect of a section of the pupils in this respect, or barren secularisation will lead to a conflict between school and home life in the pupils concerned, which is harmful. On the other hand, if we give due recognition to several prevailing faiths in the educational institutions and organize suitable facilities for boys and girls of all faiths, it may itself serve as a broadening influence of great national value.

As for language, it is no good trying to impose a medium of instruction on young pupils which is not their mother-tongue. In the past, parents preferred their children to undergo the disadvantages of the English medium because, as against the drawbacks of a foreign medium, the advantages in life of superficially anglicised culture were great. They deliberately allowed their children to learn language through subjects rather than

subjects through language, because facility in the use of the English language helped one very largely and covered many defects. These advantages must now soon disappear and the drawbacks in using a foreign medium will be more and more obvious as we go on. Nothing is gained by depriving young boys and girls of the advantage of the mother-tongue or some language near to it. In regions where more than one language is spoken I see no other way but one, namely, to form sections in the mixed schools according to language. For certain purposes they may sit together so that the advantages of both mixing and separate attention may be retained. Provided we solve the problems with understanding and patience, the very difficulties which we first deplore often prove in the end to be of the greatest value for progress. What was pain and trouble becomes a source of enlightenment and joy.

I am grateful to the Chancellor and the fellows of the University for conferring on me the highest honour in their gift. I hope I shall ever remain worthy of the degree conferred on me today by being in all matters true to the spirit of law, which is higher than the codes that embody it in various aspects. By accepting this degree, I have, so to say, gone through a ceremony of closer identification with the young friends who have received degrees at this Convocation.

Graduates, I congratulate you on your having taken your degrees. I have told you enough about the sacred duties that fall on you by reason of these degrees. Let your minds be responsible and affectionate. These are the two qualities that best adorn citizenship. Daily and earnest prayer and honest effort will enable one to acquire these two great qualities, a sense of responsibility and an affectionate temperament. If our youth attain these qualities, India will be happy and great. External courtesies will help the growth of corresponding internal feeling. Restraint in behaviour and consideration for the feelings of others are what distinguish a man of culture.

Be patient and kind always. Do not give way to jealousy or the desire to boast. Be not rude. Do not always insist on your own way. Do not allow yourself to be irritated or be resentful. Do not rejoice at wrong. Rejoice in the right. Try to bear misfortunes bravely. Show trust in others and have faith that love will prevail. This is what Paul said. This is what Gandhi said. May God bless you.

AFFECTION WILL SPEED PROGRESS*

I AM very glad that my old College has grown so big. It has encroached upon the premises of the jail. The space allotted to prisons is growing less and less and the space allotted to education is growing more and more. It gives me very great joy to be in these premises if only for a few minutes. Most of the things here remind me of times very long ago—times when there was no complication whatsoever in life. The Government was foreign and we led a simple life. Now everything is complicated. This was a very good College and I am glad I am serving the College by adding to its reputation by an artificial position that I have attained which has nothing to do with my education. I have been a wanderer and after many vicissitudes I have settled down in a kind of prison called the Government House in Delhi. If my education had really been sound, I should have been a College Professor somewhere! I am now on a ticket of leave. But even here I have got very vigilant watchmen who see that I do not do what I should not do.

It delights me to see so many sisters gathered here. I hope they are not just mere relations of the boys but are themselves products of collegiate education somewhere. Women's education had not advanced very much in my time. But Mysore had taken many steps in advance

*Bangalore—At the Central College, August 20, 1948.

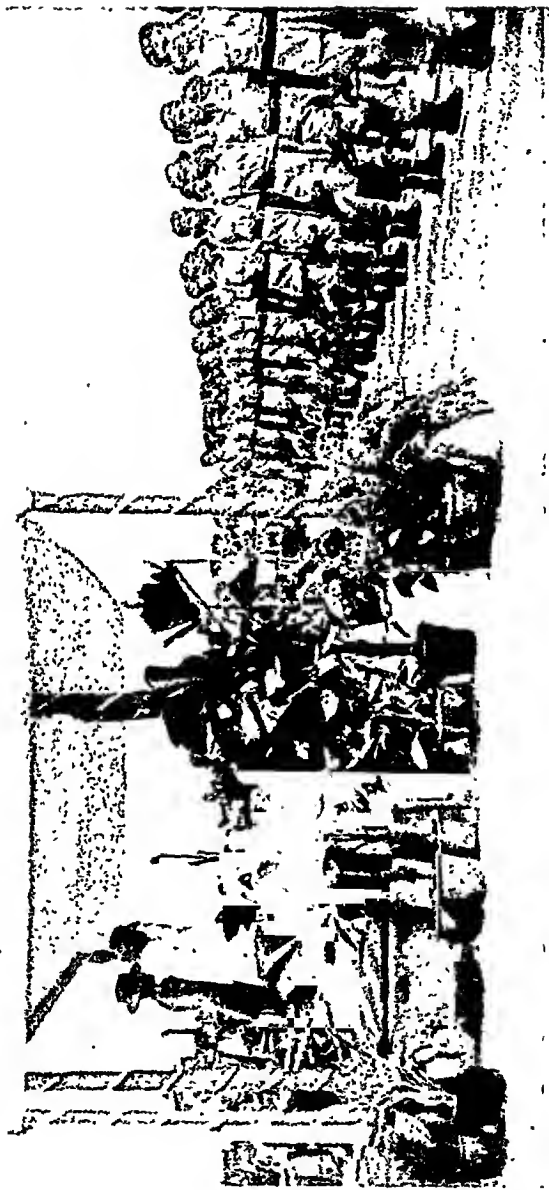
of the rest of the country. You are now in the happy position of claiming that women's education is very much cared for in the State of Mysore. An educated girl is an educated mother, whereas educated boys are just educated boys. The education given to boys is ultimately given up to some employer, or some Government department. An educated girl becomes a member of a small school in her own home. The education we give to girls is a much better investment than the education we give to boys. I am sorry to appear to detract from the value of boys. But if you listen to me you can try to come to the level of the girls. Young men who have received education should make it their duty to devote some time to the education of their children. Men are very loyal and well-behaved in office, but they lose their temper and quarrel with everybody when they go home. If you wish your education to bear fruit, you must consider it a religious duty to bring up your children, to some extent relieving the labour of the school master. By teaching your children yourself, you will be learning a little more. When you begin to teach somebody, you learn a great deal more yourself. Do not entrust your children's education entirely to teachers.

It gives me greater pleasure to see you all than it gives you to see me. I see the need for human affection more and more. Nothing will save the world except human affection. I hope you will all cultivate it and not consider it irrelevant to intellectual progress. Unless you develop human affection, our country is not going to be happy. You may learn a lot of geology, biology or chemistry but try to protect the art of loving one another. Then everything will be all right in the family and in the world.

I do not know when I can come once again to your place. If I do, I hope you will have a soft corner in your hearts for me even though I may have laid aside the office of the Governor-General at that time. Are you showing respect to me or are you showing respect to my office? I tell you it is more important to pay respect to

the office than to me. I am an Old Boy of the College and you may naturally like me. But whoever be the Head of the State in our country, you should respect and love him. You should assist all those whose names you raise in your slogans. You must strive to make the mother-country more glorious and assist the Government in getting all things done properly. Democracy demands co-operation from all including students. Let me give you this parting thought. Now that India is free, now that Mysore is a part of the Indian Union, there should be no more strikes in schools, colleges or anywhere. Do not go on strike. Solve everything by persuasion. We cannot afford to lose time. We must work all the time and the man who indulges in strikes is a traitor to the cause of the country. From now on everybody must do his work and produce something for the common good of the country.

May this College grow more and more and bring credit to the teachers and boys attached to the College. As for the girls, do not get too proud because of what I have said. Do not neglect the duties of the family to which you belong. One half of the work in the State is done by mothers and sisters in the family. Unless you look after the family properly, children will not become good citizens and India will grow not better but worse. Therefore women are doing the more difficult part of the work. Mysore will grow great only if you all work hard.



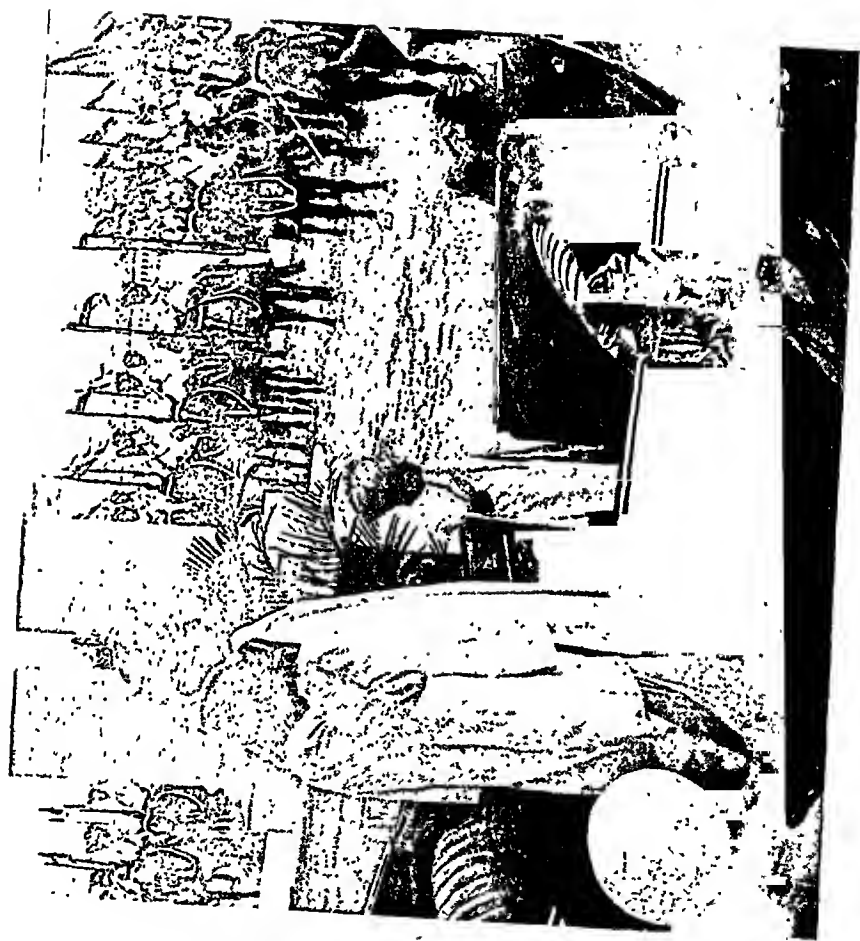
*Travancore—At the March Past of the
State Forces with His Highness The
Maharajah of Travancore*

Soldiers

“SERVE THE DHARMA OF INDIA”*

I AM asking your General to translate into Malayalam what I say in English. The Army is not the enemy of the people but a useful and faithful unit of the people. It is as much the servant of the people as the civil services. The people are their own masters now and every individual is the servant of the State. It is a noble occupation to give all you have in body and mind to the protection and safety of the land. It should be the noble ambition of every able-bodied young man to serve in the Army if he can get a place. You need not imagine that you are doing anything which people dislike. You are now doing what people like. Wherever you are, whether in battle or in peace, you should look upon the women and children of the land as your own sisters and your own children. Even if you are fighting the enemy, the women and children of the enemy are your own sisters and your own family. This is the Dharma of our land and I hope that the Army of India will serve the Dharma of India. I wish you all good luck and wish you young men good careers and wish the State all prosperity and the Army all fame. The Army in India is now one and you are an integral part of it. Thank you very much for giving me this impressive and unforgettable welcome.

*Trivandrum—At the Pangode Garrison Parade Grounds, August 23, 1948.



Mysore—At the start of the State Drive—Taking the Salute of the Cavalry Escort of His Highness's Bodyguard

GOD SENDS TROUBLES TO STRENGTHEN US*

LET me congratulate your Brigadier on the excellent style and manner of his speech. Not only as Governor-General, but even otherwise I have keen appreciation of good talk and good writing.

I thank you very much for the friendly and cordial sentiments you have expressed. I know how simple-hearted and good you all are. None among those who are responsible for the government of the country doubts the loyalty, sincerity or the highest patriotism of the soldiers, wherever they may be, whoever they may be, whatever they may be. Whether they are young or old, senior or junior officers, all are imbued with strong patriotism.

We have had troubles. God sent them to us. We have to accommodate ourselves to these troubles. If you had it all easy, you would have deteriorated in character. You would have become idle and arrogant. Now you are vigilant and watchful. We will have to get strong over these troubles, just as a recruit gets strong by exercise. India may be called a recruit in a sense and all these troubles that we have now are just exercise that God has given us to strengthen our fibre and stamina. Do not imagine that the Government is neglectful or indifferent or forgetful. They may talk a lot of other things, but their thoughts are with the armed forces of the country. They love you and I hope you will continue to love them. Thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me to make your acquaintance.

* Nagpur—To Officers of the Sub-area Command at Kamptee Club, August 28, 1948.



*Madras—Laying the Foundation-Stone
of the Orphanage of The Anjuman-
E-Himayath-E-Islam*

Of Other Things

“NOTHING BUT COMMON SENSE CAN SAVE US”*

To the people of the City of Madras I tender my most grateful appreciation for their kindness and unbroken affection. I was trying to see whether there was anybody whom I did not know among the Councillors of the City. Barring one or two all of them are more or less old friends and I have nothing new to tell them and they have nothing new to tell me.

It is a privilege to command so much affection. Words have been generously employed to explain that I have done this or done that; but I know the real reason why we are all so exhilarated. The reason is as I have often observed—we have not understood exactly what we meant when we asked for self-government. Not having understood it, we are surprised when one of our own men is appointed to a high office. If we really meant what we said when we wanted self-government and full responsible government, it must be easy for us to see that nothing else can happen. We have to bear not only with one Governor-General but with many successive heads of state being appointed from our own ranks and from ordinary familiar material. No Englishman will hereafter come to take up the office. One after another, one of ourselves must be appointed and must accept the office. I, having come first, have had the advantage of exciting your feeling of exhilaration

*Madras—Reply to Corporation Civic address, August 23, 1918.

so much. You will get used to such things and you will make no more of it than you would make of a man becoming Prime Minister in Madras or another man losing his Prime Ministership! It will all be in the normal course of things.

We have to bear with one another, suffer one another and make the best of one another—that is the most important thing. Men come to serve us in one capacity or other. We must hasten to learn how to make the best use of them. Important and competent judges from abroad have told me, not to flatter me or our people but to cheer me up when I felt depressed over many things, that our people have produced leaders and administrators, ministers and legislators who can compare with any other officers, leaders, ministers or legislators in the world. I believe them. Eminent men from abroad have pointed out to me that difficulties, exactly like those we have here, crop up in other places also. Therefore when I see things and reflect calmly, I see that our men and our leaders are as good, as sincere, as genuine and as single-minded as anybody else in the world filling similar positions.

Ours is a country of which we can be proud. We have men and women of whom we can be proud. We suffer from an illusion which makes us regard men and things we know as if there was nothing remarkable about them. Let us therefore understand one another. Let us make the best use of those who come to serve us. Let us not make things more difficult than they are. It is difficult for 400 million people to pull together under a democratic form of government. It is easy to govern with troops or through force. It is difficult for a large body like our nation to govern itself through self-restraint which is another name for democracy. It is not possible to run democracy in India as we can run it in a small town or state. Much more understanding is necessary in our country than democracy in smaller countries demands. We have to learn, therefore, how to govern ourselves.

We have excellent material but we must know how to use it. That is why I put it in common language that we must make the best use of those who come to serve us. Democracy is the process of a number of people coming together to serve the country. It is not a process of mere wrangling. A number of people from the ranks of the ordinary will come to serve and we must know how to harmonise things and make the best use of them.

The Municipal Corporation of Madras has its problems, the one particular problem being how to find money. We go on expanding our activities and we create problems for ourselves. The City is growing, growing so big, that almost everybody in the Province wants to come and live in Madras. Everyone wants to come and do business in Madras. Everyone wants to come and get healed of some disease or other in Madras. Everyone wants to educate his children in Madras. Everyone wants to be amused in the picture halls of Madras. Everybody from everywhere in the Province is drawn towards Madras as iron filings are drawn to a magnet.

Now all people come together to Madras and the evil is growing on itself. Our problems go on increasing. What shall we do then? My advice is that we must do something to make other towns also attract people. It is only then that there is salvation for Madras. Not even an extra quarter anna on the railway ticket as terminal tax will save the City of Madras. The people who come and who pay the quarter anna of half an anna at the railway station, will demand much more from you in the City of Madras than they do now. We must, therefore, do something to make other towns and cities as attractive as Madras.

What is the attraction that draws people to cities? Amenities, facilities for education, facilities for medical help, sanitation, good water, parks, music—these draw people. Unless we create similar surroundings and

attractions in other places, Madras will go on adding more and more fat round it like a man or woman who gets too stout, and Madras is bound to be unhappy. Neither octroi duties at the roads nor an additional quarter anna, half an anna, or more on railway tickets will save us.

Nothing but common sense can save us. We must make other towns and cities, if not as beautiful as Madras, at least nearly as good. People will go there and our problems in Madras will at least find a limit. Let us put a ceiling to our problems; let us not increase these problems. I do not propose that we should turn out anybody from Madras; let those who have come remain. But we must put a stop to this daily growing evil. It is not only Madras that suffers from this. In all provinces the story is the same. In Madras Province you have at least some other fairly good towns. You can, in some other towns also, pull a lever and get a flush to operate. But take Bengal. Outside Calcutta there is no place which can be called a town. The whole of Bengal lives in Calcutta. The problem is even more serious there. As all Municipalities are represented here, I say these few things so that you can think about them. Municipalities by themselves cannot do much. The financial system on which we are working now is such that other towns cannot be made beautiful or attractive. Hence we have to discover a way out of it.

There is a great deal of work to do before freedom can bring joy to the people. By itself it is not much. You can ask the Prime Minister of India whether he is more happy today than he was before. He may be compelled for the sake of consistency to say: 'Yes, I am very happy because we are free.' But if you find an apparatus to look into the heart, you will find that he is really less happy than he ever was. Let us be wise. Freedom is after all only a means for happiness. Having got it, we must work hard to make one another happy. We cannot make one another happy or be ourselves

happy, unless we learn how to understand one another. To understand one another is the first difficulty.

There are many grave dangers before the country of which every one is conscious. Every one is afraid of wars and troubles. There is war in the atmosphere all over the world. As you believe me to be somewhat of a successful prognosticator, let me assure you that the world may talk very bitterly and very angrily, but it dares not go to war. You may read of all kinds of terrible language, but you will not see the world so foolishly going to war as we imagine.

Some want war, but they do not want to learn Hindustani. They want everybody to join together and fight, but do not want a common language. We have to learn many truths before we can learn to be happy. I am very sad to see that Madras, famous for intelligence, is, in my humble opinion, still far from real intelligence. I am intelligent enough to see that we are very stupid indeed. We do not know what is good for us. We have to learn a good deal. But of one thing I am sure. We are all good people; but we must understand one another. And we will do so very soon.

I have come to find joy for a few days by staying in your midst. I am trying to see as many people as possible. Unfortunately it is easier to tour in a place I have not previously known than to tour in a place I have known. There are so many friends who get angry because I have not shaken hands with them, or gone to their homes, or looked at them and smiled, or accepted invitations from them. When you visit a place and if you possess some adventitious importance, you leave more enemies behind when you go than when you started. I hope my appeal will be heard and that no one will expect me to do more than I can physically do within the short time I have. I have no hope of gathering the joys of friendship or communion with dear people until I resign from office

and come here. Unfortunately we have still so much of the children in us that we believe something has happened to a friend because he has been made Governor-General and therefore, he must come while he is Governor-General to our houses or sit with us. I really wish it were possible for me to see every one of you. But it is not possible and you must take it that I have done it. I will come one day and claim the right to meet, visit and talk to every one of you. I hope you will not then neglect me, because I have laid down my office.

As an old man, I claim the right to offer blessings to you all. May God give you wisdom, much wanted wisdom and may God give you happiness, much wanted happiness which it is only in His power to give.

PAVE THE WAY TO FORGET DISTINCTIONS*

MR. V. Bashyam Iyengar and Dr. Alagappa Chettiar have asked me to join my prayers with yours that this institution and the movement of which it is a fruit may flourish more and more. Many are the movements inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi in this country. Some of these have fared very well and some not quite so well, while a few have flagged and even faded away. The movement for Harijan uplift has gone on from strength to strength. It is being carried on with enthusiasm. I am very happy that it is so. For, Harijan uplift is no easy work, especially in South India. But by God's will and His Grace it has succeeded well. We did not expect so much success. But God so directs things that where success is expected, failure results and where great difficulties are expected, things prove easy and lead to success.

* Madras—Speech in Tamil at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya Hostel, August 24, 1948.

Not a little of the success that has attended this institution is due to the tireless energy and enthusiasm of those engaged in the work. People who meet Mr. Bhashyam Iyengar for the first time are apt to be misled by his appearance. People imagine that he is a rigid Sanatanist and that it is impossible that he can be associated with Harijan uplift work. For, there seems to be a notion that it is only those who have given up wearing on their face the *namam*, *vibhuti* or other marks that will take to this kind of work. People who entertain this notion have not understood the true significance of these marks. These are but symbols of the yearning and the inner urge in one to get near to God. Westerners sometimes call these marks 'caste marks' which indicate caste distinctions. That is not true. In fact, men of whatever caste among the Hindus, wear *namam* or *vibhuti* alike, according as they are Vaishnavites or Saivites. These marks only indicate the desire in one to get near to God. Therefore, I would request you on this occasion not to look on these as denoting 'high caste' or 'low caste' or to be frightened by the *namam* on his face or confused by the absence of any such mark on mine. You must keep your minds clear about things and avoid misunderstanding, needless prejudices and worry from which spring our misfortunes.

Ours is a vast land and our community is a vast one. Our characteristics—our strength as well as our weakness—are equally phenomenal in proportions. We have great patience; we sometimes exhibit great anger and passion. We are capable of great effort but also succumb to great lethargy like Kumbhakarna. We rise to great heights of nobility but also fall prey to grievous misunderstandings and passion. We are capable of the highest philosophy and devotion to God and also of great cruelty to our fellow men. It is essential that we should learn to bear ourselves in a way that will take us forward to progress and strength.

We should bear in mind that so long as distinctions remain, these institutions and the need for such institutions will continue. It is necessary, however, that after we reach a certain stage of progress, we should discard these adventitious aids. The dependence on such institutions should cease after a stage. It is something like stopping administering of medicine to a sick man when he reaches a certain stage in his cure and allowing him to recover health and strength naturally without the aid of drugs. The process will then be to induce the patient to see that he no longer needs the aid of medicine for his good health. We must make people forget distinctions just as it is necessary to make a patient forget his illness after a particular stage. The efforts to induce that confidence must continue.

I am glad to see that Mr. H. D. Raja has come forward to make good whatever is wanting after the collections are made. Water in a lake is for the good of the cultivators. The lake might imagine that the gathering waters are for its own benefit; but when the water swells, it becomes necessary for the lake to disgorge it. That is the natural law. Like the lake, men who have amassed wealth should also give freely of it for the benefit of others. Let no one therefore cast angry looks at the wealthy. If we are patient, we will find that the wealthy would themselves come forward to make free with their possessions for public good.

The cause with which this function is connected is a very just one. I hope this institution will prosper. I thank the organizers for the opportunity they have given me to associate myself with this function. I know what I have laid today is not really the foundation. The stone I laid today only symbolizes the foundation already laid deep and strong. I hope that in your hearts too the foundation is now laid of goodwill for this institution. I once again thank you all.

MY CHILDREN*

JUST as my old friend, Mr. Hamed Khan said that his joy knew no bounds, I also feel the same and my pleasure may also be described as knowing no bounds on this occasion. It was more than ten years ago, I believe, that as Premier I was associated with the grant that was referred to here. I am very glad that arrangements have been made to secure about two square furlongs of land for this Orphanage.

It was very sweet to hear the children sing the thanks to me and I wish to tell you that I feel that these children are my children just as much as children of any other community are. Since we should always extend more affection to those who feel depressed and afflicted and to those who are afraid, I wish to ask you all, my Hindu friends, to treat Muslim children as your own children and, if possible, with special favour so as to remove their fears and their doubts.

We are, both as a Government and a people, unchangeably pledged to treating all people alike. Not only our Government, but the Dharma of our people also commits them to this attitude of perfect equality irrespective of caste or creed. I want you to make this your practical code of thinking and acting. We will not achieve our goal of glory in the world if we in India were to swerve from this path. We must treat all people alike and if any difference is to be made to remove temporary doubts and fears, the difference must be all in favour of those who suffer from fear or doubt. I am therefore greatly delighted to be associated with this function. It is very pleasing to be told that I was associated with the primary grant in connection with this institution and it is very pleasing again to be here to lay its foundation-stone.

There are many difficulties in all human endeavours

* Madras—At the laying of the foundation-stone of Muslim Orphanage Buildings at Thyagaraya Nagar, August 24, 1948.

and those of you who were present with me when I laid the foundation-stone, saw an example of it. The stone itself was so tied up that I could not lay it quickly and properly. Our very efforts are sometimes so entangled that we are not able to achieve what we desire quickly. What happened just now is only a small example of the general principle. We should not be impatient. If I had been impatient and cut the ropes that were tied round the stone with a knife, the stone would have landed on somebody's fingers. We must similarly be patient with the delay and difficulties in raising this institution.

Do not lose your patience or your temper with the Government of Madras because owing to many difficulties they are not able to give the money in the very first year you ask them. But they are sure to give. We shall not progress in this complicated world and complicated days, unless we are patient with one another. This is God's world. You believe in God. He is all-powerful and will look after everything. It is only a question of time. Do not lose patience with your fellow-beings because it would amount to losing patience with God himself. We shall achieve what we desire in course of time. Any delay, difficulty or opposition will ultimately strengthen the structure. We need not always imagine that every difficulty is the work of Satan. There is no Satan really. It is really the work of God and all our difficulties are God's trials.

I give my best wishes to all friends who are working for a common cause. Your Orphanage is not a Muslim Orphanage; it is an Indian orphanage. According to the taste and requirements of several groups of people, several different institutions will have to be raised. But they are all Indian orphanages. They are all my children, let me once again tell you. May God bless you all!

JOURNALISM IS A FINE ART*

I MUST confess I had expected something very different from what I see now. I had thought I would come and mix freely with old friends who call themselves journalists and who really have been my colleagues and friends for a long time. I thought it would be a friendly gathering but I find it is altogether too formal and has become a repetition of the many functions where I have had to speak. But with the hang-over of serious journalism this meeting too suffers as a result. If Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar had decided to put aside all old fashions, I would have been on the same floor with the rest of you, moved about, understood you, breathed the air of affection and gone back with pleasant memories.

Now you have put me very serious questions which, however, I propose to answer, although I have had little time to think about them. I am sorry to say that I cannot accept the compliment or the charge that you make that I am an incipient journalist and take every occasion to find satisfaction in that direction. I thought I was a very poor journalist because I spoke my mind whenever I wrote and did not try to know beforehand what people would like. I do not believe that a journalist can flourish if he proceeds in this manner.

You ask me to help you to get the great owners of the papers—the Press—to deal with those who work under them more sympathetically. I do not believe that either the Government or the Governor-General will succeed better in this than in dealing with other employers. I do not know if owners of the Press will listen to Government more than others have done. It is a question of conflict of economic interests to some extent but largely a question of patience and mutual understanding.

I am surprised that you call journalism an industry.

* Madras—Address to the Southern Indian Journalists Federation, August 25, 1948.

Before you came to that part of your address, I was thinking of telling you that the way out of all difficulties is to treat everything as an effort in making the world more beautiful. That is to say, I want you to look upon journalism as an art and not as an industry. If all of you, working journalists, will treat your vocation more as an art than as an industry, then all will be well. Journalists are like painters and poets rather than factory workers. They are really doing works of art. When you, journalists, write an article, when you write a leading article or even when you present an item of news, you are doing a work of art.

Hitherto journalism was too much associated with politics. You thought that you were only an expanded Legislative Assembly, and went on advising, opposing, consulting and debating. I think that is a wrong way to take journalism now. Now that we have no problem of foreign domination, we must reduce journalism—or rather raise it, to the level of an art. Does a poet ask the Government to intervene between himself and the publishers? Can a painter ask the Government to help him to get better prices for his pictures? Works of art cannot flourish in that manner. Although I have refuted your kind compliment, I think I know enough of the life of journalists to feel that I am giving good advice. Whatever may be your difficulties, whatever your internal pains and travails, do look upon what you produce as productive, creative art, and then all will be well. Write good books, make good poems, make good pictures and also write good articles and make good newspapers—all will then be well. If you ask me to argue the point, I may not be able to do it either within the time given me or even if you give more time. But if you take my advice and practise it, I think you will find that all will be well.

You are old friends. There is no reason for me to imagine that I am cleverer than any of you. All of you have dealt with the same subjects as I have. All of you

have nearly as much experience as I have had, according to the time you have given to it.

As for wrangling and arguing policies, I think our Indian newspapers must throw off the old hang-over of imagining that they are just expanded legislative assemblies. Launch out on everything in life and bring out things of beauty in order that life may be enriched in our country. Journalism is only one of the many ways in which life can be enriched and by continuing in the old style we are not likely to be very useful. I am talking as one of you. You have rightly complained of the hang-over of the Government's attitude. I think it will not last very long, even if your accusation is correct. But let us always think of the beam in our own eyes before we speak of the mote in other people's eyes. I am not giving that in the exact proportion perhaps; but that is the old saying and I repeat it. Let us see whether we also do not suffer from old habits. I have just pointed out one.

Do not write about politics and politics alone. One of you, who is a very intimate friend of mine, consulted me once as to what he should do and I told him: 'Deal with the administration rather than the Ministers.' He accepted my advice for a couple of days and then reverted to the Ministers. He was not able to stick to the enemy—the administration—but went back to 'the Ministers'. Old habits are difficult to throw off, although my old friends seem to think that it is easy to stop drink all over the province straightway! Whether we succeed or not, there is no harm in trying. All good things must be taken up and we must put all our efforts into it. Governments, politicians as well as journalists, all have a way of sticking to the old habit. We will have to get over it.

We are now a free country. We have now great opportunities and the Press and the Government such as we have, should get on together and help one another. The Press must meet the Government more often

and the Government must make it easier for the Press to meet it. I do not boast but go to Calcutta and ask the newspapers whether I did not try my best to make them meet me. I found it was very successful. I found no difficulty in understanding them or they in understanding me. We are all made of the same clay and we only work in different departments. I am sure representatives of the Government of Madras who are here with me will be only very glad to meet you and talk to you. They must only be sure that you will not let them down! I think that nobody will let any other person down in Free India. Those days are gone. We would not gain by letting one another down. We are all so much together that if we let one another down, the whole boat will sink and none of us will gain. This is a time when we should realize that we are all co-partners in one business and it is a terrible waste to deceive one another or to be unfair to one another. The most economical way of dealing with our affairs now and hereafter will be to be fair to one another.

The problem then arises as to who is to begin. That is the eternal problem in life. When two people quarrel, who is to begin, is the eternal problem that prevents the two coming together quickly. I advise you, gentlemen of the Press, you are the cleverer of the two and, therefore, you must begin. The Government is elected on the basis of democracy; journalists are there on the basis of voluntary choice. Whatever natural difficulties the Government have, cannot be corrected, by reason of the fact that people have chosen them; but you are there as journalists by our own merits. I take it, you are the cleverer of the two and the cleverer men must take the first step whenever there is a quarrel. I want you to organize parties and invite members of the Government to discuss problems. Take the upper hand always; I have found it successful. If you extend your hand first, the shake will be the warmer on the other side. If you wait till the other man extends his hand, it is all a

question of fear and trembling. I want you therefore to take the first step.

There are some people who seem to be very angry with some of you here and seem to be throwing stones on your roof. Otherwise, I do not understand the noise that you get here. Do not be disturbed by this. In Free India, we get the sort of freedom that we deserve. All the time we have been wrangling with one another and for some time it will go on. We now have only the flower of Swaraj. We have not yet got the fruit and hence the trouble. If one is anxious to have the flowers and smell their fragrance it would be sometime before we can have the fruits. Flowers must become fruit and give joy. When that happens, there will be sweetness in the atmosphere. Till then, you will have troubles. Do not get excited over them. I am very grateful to you all.

ERA OF INFERIORITY IS OVER*

I THANK you very heartily for your welcome. Your welcome speech was to the point, and covered all that had to be covered. We have all of us to give all the help and co-operation we can to raise the prestige and glory of our free country. For some years now to come, we must concentrate on this. All other things must be put aside. Individual competition must be put aside. We have bought the land: we must first build the house. Mere land will not be of any use unless we build on it. In the same way freedom is of no use unless we build on it. We must build the house for which purpose we bought the land. That is the position in India now, and I am very glad that you have, on behalf of your community in the Central Provinces, resolved to do the work which the nation requires. I want to give you this

*Nagpur—Reply to a welcome address by the Harijan League, August 27, 1948.

assurance, that you will be treated as brothers and as fellow-citizens in India hereafter, and you need have no doubts about it.

The era of inferiority as regards your community is over. Gandhiji's work in other respects may still be imperfect, but so far as your question is concerned, what has been done cannot be undone by anybody. You may not all be happy because happiness requires many other things besides equality. *Barabari* has been got and it cannot be lost again. *Khushi* waits for God's grace and for human nature.

It is very difficult to pay back an old and heavy debt. Do not be disappointed because the repayment has been slow. A man's own debt may be paid quickly, but if we have to pay all our grandfathers' and great-grandfathers' debt, it takes time. That is exactly the situation in regard to the justice to be done to your people. Do not allow your hearts to grow bitter over trifles. Bharat Mata has got you back as an equal son. You need not worry about smaller matters. Do not get discouraged because Gandhiji is dead. So far as you are concerned, his work was completed. My best wishes to you.

THE STONE THAT WAS REJECTED*

THE Cosmopolitan Club is an old institution and one very familiar to me. The decorations which you have very kindly made in the hall to make me feel cheerful have made it look a little less familiar than really the place is to me. I miss many old faces here, faces of those who were uncrowned kings of this Club. Death must take away its toll and the Club like other institutions has had to part with a few of its dominant personalities.

*Madras—At the Cosmopolitan Club, August 24, 1948.

Still quite a lot remain and I hope you will make the best use of them and not make them feel that there is only room in it for young men. As an old man myself, I wish to warn young men that whatever they do in the outer world, in the Club they must make old men feel comfortable and happy so long as they are there. You will miss them very much when they go away.

Clubs in India should develop good manners and should be places where you can forget all other differences in politics and other controversial matters. In these days everything is controversial—social reforms are controversial and even language has become controversial. All those differences must be put aside. We must have one spot where all men who claim to be enlightened and who have leisure can meet together and overcome various prejudices generated in the course of their daily work. In the days when I was one of the campaigners in politics, there was a prevalent feeling that clubs were on the whole useless and the members thereof were not doing useful work. When everybody was anxious and busy, these people played bridge, chatted without any serious purpose, wasted time and above all thought they were very important. That was the feeling when I was an active politician; not that it was my feeling, but it was the feeling of the people working in the field I was engaged in.

But as has been found by men's experience recorded in the Old Testament, a stone that is considered less fit may prove to be the corner-stone of the structure to be raised. Today institutions like yours, and clubs where there is no politics, have become most important for the cultivation of unity, strength and harmony in society, which are the things for which we should campaign now, now that we have attained freedom. The present times are such that we must make it a campaign. It is not enough merely to recognize the value of harmony. We have to work for it very hard. As politics was important before 1947, so is harmony important now and is the one thing

for which men like Gandhiji worked. Freedom having been achieved, we have to work hard for harmony without which we cannot find happiness in this country.

Where can harmony be generated? Not in the Legislative Assembly, not in the newspaper offices, not in the bazaars and not even, perhaps, in isolated temples where people isolate themselves from each other, but in clubs where all kinds of persons meet and sit together. Therefore, institutions like your Club are hereafter really Temples of Harmony. There is a great mission for institutions like this and that mission is the cultivation of good understanding, good fellowship and the great art of forgetting differences. I am obliged to say something in a serious manner which I hope will find a response in your minds. Whatever avocation, whatever work you may have outside, when you come to the club for relaxation remember what I have told you. Even in that process of relaxation you are fulfilling a very sacred duty towards the motherland. Try to cultivate friendship where it may appear to be difficult and try to cultivate intimacy where it may appear almost impossible. Become friends with one another and do not flock together, according to the proverb, with birds of the same feather but flock together with birds of different feathers and cultivate harmony that is so necessary for our country.

Madras City has improved in many ways and everything is going on well here and the people are very good people. Their heart is full of affection and they have a sense of humour which is the highest philosophy. Do not take anything too seriously. Madras is very good compared to other provinces. I think a sense of humour is deep-rooted in this Province. Let us never give it up. That is the highest philosophy that Vedanta may discover. Therefore, I have reasons to be glad. My impressions of the City are very favourable.

People are depressed all the same on account of many difficulties that present themselves now. We are all

responsible to the people of whom we have taken full charge. We are not very confident about ourselves. But as your President has said, there is no reason to be depressed. Very talented people and very good people, universally respected, are in charge of the affairs of the country. Whatever individual feelings may be, on the whole, no country has been so lucky as we at such a critical moment as the one we are passing through. We had for so many years a God on earth, so to say, to teach us the way of life. Not many countries have had the advantage of having such personalities in flesh and blood to teach them.

In these days, people of other countries have to look up to old scriptures to find lessons which we found in that living person who was moving amongst us till the other day. Then as soon as the burden of freedom was placed on our shoulders, we had men of ability and character and men commanding public confidence to take over the burden. Not many countries have been so lucky. Even now in the face of very severe trials, as I am never tired of pointing out, men of the highest ability and character throughout the world have complimented our Government on the way in which they have faced the troubles. Those men have offered to some of us who were depressed by what is going on, great consolation by their appreciation. So on the whole we cannot complain.

All that we now require is that people of all sorts should make up their minds to help one another, rather than compete with one another. Competition is good; but in certain points of time in the history of a people, competition is not of much value. We must help one another, we must pull together, and we must all now work hard together. All of you are engaged in various occupations. The difference between public servants and Government servants, merchants and citizens—all that is gone now. That kind of illusion has resolved itself. Everyone is the servant of the State now. Everyone is bound by rules of public conduct. We can all work together, each in his own way.

Do not make a distinction between public speeches and private conversations. That distinction must be thrown aside. In private conversation we must observe the same caution and the same sense of discipline that we do in public. These are the secrets of daily conduct which may look very new, but are not really new. That is the lesson I have received from Mahatma Gandhi. What is right is right under all conditions. Let me come to the particular from the general. When you sit round a bridge table, do not talk things which you will not like to talk in public. Every little drop of water makes together the waves of the sea. In the same manner, every whisper, every conversation, every talk in private, all these go together to make national life. Let us purify our national life. Let us all combine to lighten the burdens the leaders are bearing on their shoulders, here or at Delhi. All those who have taken the responsibility of making people a little happier, look to you for every assistance and you should help them.

